

Are you a Graham, Graeme, Grame, Grimes or de Giresme? Or a Nethery? Or perhaps a Jordan, Johnson or Noble whose Y-chromosomal DNA has a distinctive Graham haplotype (J1 / J-M267)? Or are you related to such surnames through your family tree? If so, this book is for you!

Illustrated in colour throughout, it provides a fresh survey of the mythos and history of the Grahams through the ages, including the family's origins, heraldry, heroes and villains. Genetic genealogy is used to untangle the family's origin myths and main branches, encompassing both the noble house of Montrose and the bandit "reivers" of the Anglo-Scottish border. The heady mix of history and science is complemented by an original – and at times irreverent – biographical examination of some illustrious and nefarious Grahams, ranging from knights and generals whose battlefield exploits are immortalised in verse to the inventors of the sexually supercharged Celestial Bed and its nemesis, the libido-crushing Graham cracker.



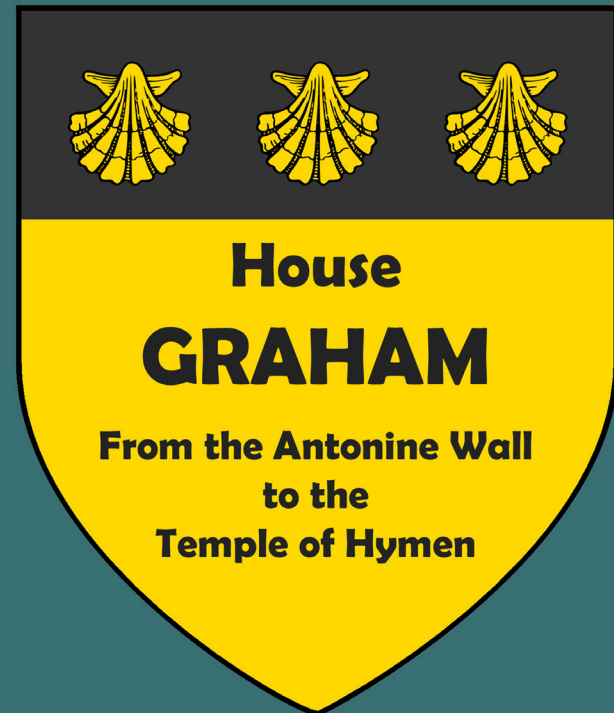
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Lloyd D. Graham House GRAHAM: From the Antonine Wall to the Temple of Hymen

LLOYD D. GRAHAM



Ne Oublie

House GRAHAM

**From the Antonine Wall to
the Temple of Hymen**

Lloyd D. Graham

Lulu

2020

House GRAHAM: From the Antonine Wall to the Temple of Hymen

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On the Grahams:

*They are now dispersed, and when they shall be placed upon any land together, the next country will find them ill neighbours, for they are a fractious and naughty people.*¹

— Arthur Chichester, 1st Baron Chichester,
Lord Deputy of Ireland, 1605-1616

On the book project:

There is a vitality, a life force, an energy, a quickening that is translated through you into action, and because there is only one of you in all of time, this expression is unique. And if you block it, it will never exist through any other medium and it will be lost. The world will not have it.

*[There is] no satisfaction whatever at any time. There is only a queer divine dissatisfaction, a blessed unrest that keeps us marching ...*²

— Martha Graham, dancer and choreographer
(1894-1991)

Foreword

I have usually found family histories and genealogical reports to be dull and parochial affairs: litanies of births, marriages, occupations and deaths that form colourless pedigrees of little interest to anyone outside (and few within) the family. Equally, chroniclers who are fortunate enough to have famous forebears to document often descend into a thinly-disguised form of ancestor-worship, which is offputting in other ways. In contrast, this erratic and sometimes personal survey of the history and mythos of the Grahams is intended to appeal to a wide range of readers. Illustrated throughout, it offers an original – and at times irreverent – look at some illustrious and nefarious Grahams, including one or two candidates who are of the name and the spirit, if not of the blood.³ I could equally have subtitled this scholarly yet light-hearted book “Fifteen fun-filled chapters about my (extended) family.”

Perhaps the greatest irony of the Grahams is that the venerable clan motto – *Ne Oublie* – urges us not to forget,⁴ yet nobody can recall what it is that we are supposed to remember. If you are feeling charitable, I invite you to view this book – which ranges widely over Graham-related events, some of which are in danger of being consigned to oblivion – as an idiosyncratic attempt to fulfil the family obligation. Some of what I retrieve from the garbage bin of time might better have been left there; it is up to each reader to decide for him- or herself whether my treatment of the material amounts to unflinching honesty or subversive mischief, or something in between.

The book was researched and written over the years 2010-2020. As this interval largely coincided with the duration of HBO’s blockbuster television series *Game of Thrones* (2011-2019), the book’s main title – *House GRAHAM* – conforms to a Westerosi idiom, in the style of “House Stark” or “House Lannister.” Perhaps the phraseology will seem strange as memories of the television series fade, but the show was the defining arts and entertainment landmark of the decade during which the book was written. More importantly, the “House X” terminology has certain advantages that commend its use in the title. First, it is an unusual combination of familiar words; hopefully this signals that this is an unusual book, an unconventional history that seeks new angles on old material. If the title’s idiom is recognised as an homage to *Game of Thrones*, with all of the vivid associations that conjures up, so much the better. Second, “House Graham” mirrors the structure of the common expression “Clan Graham,” but avoids its problematic first word. There has long been some purist resistance to calling the Grahams a “clan,”⁵ and I also wanted the scope of this book to extend a little beyond “family” in the narrow sense of those who are Grahams by surname and their kin by marriage or descent. To me, “clan” also sends a parochial signal that I am keen to avoid; my geographic scope ranges far from Scotland, and includes Grahams who would have had little or no association with their ancestral homeland. Third, the term “House” has long enjoyed formal use in the relevant sense in Scotland; when I lived in Glasgow (1987-1990), the House of Fraser department store was a city landmark,⁶ and its distinctive name came to mind when I was searching for an umbrella term that would extend beyond biological Grahams and their spouses to include those “of the name and the spirit, if not of the blood.”⁷ Thus was born

the title *House GRAHAM*, although throughout the book I typically use “House of Graham” as a softer, and perhaps more durable, turn of the phrase.

The structure of the book – comprising the chapter titles and many draft section titles – was in place almost from the outset, as was the order in which chapters were destined to appear in the book. However, I did not write the contents in numerical order, i.e., from Chapter 1 to Chapter 15; rather, in each year from 2015 onwards I wrote up a group of chapters with related themes and released the resulting “Excerpt” online as a stand-alone instalment via my portfolio on Academia.edu.⁸ This process had many advantages: it signalled that the project was in progress; it allowed each year’s work to become publicly available not long after it was completed; it enabled a readership to build gradually and organically; it allowed interested parties to provide feedback, information and encouragement; and it constituted an insurance policy in case misfortune or misadventure prevented me from completing the book.

Each of the stand-alone Excerpts had its own unifying theme and title. Given that these annual instalments were an integral part of the process by which the book was written, I think it is appropriate to record their details here.⁹ Table 0.1 provides a summary. In the Excerpts, chapters were called “Sections” as they were not yet part of a book, and carried Roman numerals.¹⁰ The published Excerpts underwent minor updates, as needed. However, as the dataset in Family Tree DNA’s Graham Surname DNA Project increased in size,¹¹ a major shift occurred in the understanding of Graham genetic genealogy,¹² and this required much of Sections II, VIII & IX to be rewritten. These sections were re-issued jointly in 2018 as an un-numbered Excerpt under the title “GRAHAM Redux.” The cognate chapters in the finished book (Chapters 2, 8 & 9) follow the Redux revision rather than the original versions.

Table 0.1: Publication details of annual instalments (“Excerpts”)

No.	Excerpt title	Sections/ Chapters ⁸	Made public	Dedication
1	The Grahams of the 16-17 th century Anglo-Scottish Border and their descendants in Rossadown, Co. Laois, Ireland	VIII & IX	10.09.15	Sydney Graham, my father (1926-2015)
2	More Grahams: Murder, magic, Masons and maidens	IV-VI, XI & XV	26.12.16	
3	Graham origins: Arms and the man	I, II & XII	02.11.17	Keith Graham & Lindsay Craig, ¹³ my siblings (50 th birthday)
(R)	GRAHAM Redux: A reimagining of the family’s history in which the “noble Grahams” are of Y-haplogroup I1 rather than J1	II, VIII & IX	07.08.18	
4	From battle to ballad: “Gallant Grahams” of the 13 th to 17 th centuries	III & VII	2.12.18	Kevin Graham, my nephew (18 th birthday)
5	A Graham finale: The Church and the tutor, plus crackers and cranks	X, XIII & XIV	12.08.19	

Each Chapter in the book has been updated relative to the last version published in the relevant Excerpt. In most cases the revisions are minor, such as the correction of errors and the improving of flow, but Chapter 11 – originally just one page long – has been expanded substantially so as to be more consistent with other chapter lengths.

In the book, the order of chapters is approximately chronological by subject matter. Chapters 1-2 reach from pre-Roman times to the 12th century, broaching (and indeed breeching) the Antonine Wall from the first half of the book's subtitle. Chapter 3 dwells on the 13-14th centuries; Chapters 4 and 5 relate to the 15th century; Chapter 6 covers events from the 16-18th centuries, while Chapter 7 deals with the 17th century. Chapters 8 and 9, which form a pair, focus on the 16-17th and 17-20th centuries, respectively. Chapter 10 spans the 17-20th centuries, while its thematic extension in Chapter 11 relates to the 18th century. Chapter 12 ranges from the 13th to the 20th century; Chapter 13 is set in the 19th century, and Chapter 14's characters are drawn from the 18-20th centuries. It is in Chapter 14 that we encounter the Temple of Hymen, anticipated in the second half of the book's subtitle. The final chapter, Chapter 15, ranges from mythological times to the present day.

My credentials for writing this book include the following miscellany. I am an Irish Graham whose immediate ancestry lies in Co. Laois (Chapter 9), and whose deeper roots lie in the Anglo-Scottish Border (Chapter 8). I have a Graham uncle – Kenneth – who lives in Gleneagles, Perthshire, just 110 km / 68 miles by road from Montrose, the seat of the “noble” line of Grahams (Chapter 2). As already mentioned, I myself lived in Scotland for three years – Glasgow, 1987-1990 – after which I moved permanently to Australia. Spending the greater part of my life in the New World has given me an appreciation of the Graham diaspora and of its members' contributions beyond the British Isles (Chapters 13 & 14). A doctorate in biochemistry and molecular biology and a research career in genetic engineering mean that I am familiar with DNA manipulation and genomic analysis,¹⁴ a good starting point for forays into the daunting world of genetic genealogy (Chapters 2, 8 & 9). My decades as a laboratory-based scientist enable me to empathise with the crazy experimenters of Chapter 14; more specifically, one could argue that my time in two CSIRO Divisions – Food & Nutritional Sciences, and Animal, Food & Health Sciences (2009-2014) – set me up to appreciate the Graham cracker in all its glory. Unusually for a scientist, I like writing. Over the years I have published some poetry and won the occasional prize for it,¹⁵ so the versification examined in Chapters 3 and 7 was not entirely alien to me. In later life I have studied ancient history at university level, and have published on mythology, religion and magic;¹⁶ this equipped me well for the writing of Chapters 6, 10, 12 and 15. My output on these topics means that I am sometimes confused with my near-namesake, Lloyd M. Graham, author of the ever-controversial *Deceptions and Myths of the Bible* (Chapter 10). Having once written a research paper that involves mermaids,¹⁷ I was tickled to discover a collector – and perhaps creator – of these aquatic hybrids in my extended family (Chapter 14). Lastly, as a Lewis, i.e. the son of a Freemason, I was not averse to delving into Masonic esoterica when the challenge arose (Chapter 11). Linguistically, twelve years of schooling in Modern Irish (plus a short intensive in Old Irish) proved an

asset when it came to understanding Scottish Gaelic. Six years of schooling in French and five in Latin also came in surprisingly handy. For that matter, so did four years of studying ancient Egyptian, a short intensive in Hebrew, and informal exposure to Arabic and Greek.

Sources for information in the book are cited in the Endnotes. Full details for traditional media sources (books, newspapers, etc.), including those supplemented by a Web address or included in an online archive, are compiled in the Bibliography. Internet-only sources with two or less citations of the same URL are specified in full in the Endnotes on each occasion, and not listed elsewhere. Internet-only sources with three or more citations of the same URL are specified using a Web # identifier (e.g. Web #009) plus short title in the Endnotes, with full details provided in the numerically-ordered list titled “Recurring Web sources” that follows the Bibliography.

I am grateful to many people for assistance and encouragement over the years of preparing this book. People who contributed information or ideas are acknowledged in the appropriate endnotes. Individuals and organisations that permitted me to include proprietary material are named in the relevant figure legends or endnotes; my heartfelt thanks to you all. Details of Creative Commons licences, under which many of the third-party images are reproduced, are specified on the Creative Commons website.¹⁸ My thanks go to James Sneyd (Auckland, New Zealand) for providing me with scans of some of T.H.B Graham’s specialised papers in 2014, which would otherwise have remained beyond my reach when I needed them most. Special thanks are due to my uncle Eric Graham (Dublin, Ireland) for in-person help in 2015 with the history of my own paternal line and for unrestricted access to his collection of family documents and photographs. David Noble (Basingstoke, England), Bruce Graham (Tauranga, New Zealand) and Bob Graham (Sunderland, England) all of whom sent me collections of documents (or extracts therefrom) late in 2017; these provided timely assistance with the revisions undertaken for “GRAHAM Redux.” My thanks also go to my aforementioned uncle Kenneth, who kindly sent me a copy of Louisa G. Graeme’s *Or and Sable*. Errors and omissions in the finished version of *House GRAHAM* are of course mine alone.

This book will be available free of charge online as a PDF file.¹⁹ The price of the printed book will be that set by the print-on-demand service for printing, binding and shipping; in an effort to keep costs down and maximise readership, no author royalty will be charged. Once the book is made public, all of the online Excerpts will be retired and removed from circulation (to the extent that this is possible in the digital era); they should no longer be cited or consulted.

Graham or otherwise, I thank you for your interest. I hope that you enjoy reading the book as much as I enjoyed writing it!

Lloyd Graham

Sydney, June 2020.



Do Not Forget

In modern times, the venerable motto of the “noble” Grahams – the house of Montrose – is considered applicable to all who bear the Graham surname.¹ As mentioned in the Foreword, perhaps the greatest irony of the House of Graham is that this motto – *Ne Oublie* – urges us not to forget,² yet nobody can recall what it is that we are supposed to remember.

In the hope of uncovering some trace of this and other lost family secrets, let us begin this book by considering the heraldic achievements of the ancestral Graham line in Scotland: the coat of arms, the crest, and the motto.

Coat of arms

The well-known armorial device of the Grahams, wherein the chief of a shield is charged with three escallops, dates back to the mid-13th century. As J.H. Stevenson explains, “The seal of Sir Henry de Graham, of about the year 1230, bears a scallop shell, while the seal of his son, Sir Nicolas, of perhaps 1260, bears a shield with three escallops on a chief, which have ever since been the arms of the main line of Graham.”³ The senior of the two Grahams mentioned in the quotation is Sir Henry de Graham of Dalkeith, 5th Graham via the elder lineage, i.e., the line of descent whose second member is the elder son (Peter) of the first historical Graham, William de Grame (Fig. 1.1).⁴ In 1250-60, the seal of Henry’s eldest son, Sir Nicholas of Dalkeith and Eskdale, is – as Stevenson attests – a blank shield with three escallops on a chief; to this we may add that three boar’s heads adorn an outer ring of the seal (Fig. 1.2).⁵ A younger son, Henry – whom we shall meet again in Chapter 3 – fought for Edward I at Caerlaverock in 1300 under “Arms gules a saltire argent, on a chief argent three escallops gules”(see ahead to Fig. 3.5).⁶ Unexpectedly, Sir Nicholas’s brother Pieres dropped the distinctive Graham chief in favour of an unpartitioned shield bearing “Three boars’ heads coupéd only” (Fig. 1.3). Sir Nicholas’s son – Sir John of Mosskessen (d. 1337; see ahead to Fig. 8.4) – sought a middle course by adding a boar’s head to the standard Graham design in “A boar’s head coupéd, muzzle downwards, on a chief three escallops,”⁷ while retaining his father’s pattern of three boars’ heads flanking the shield (Fig. 1.4).⁸ However, his son – another Sir John of Mosskessen (d. ca. 1362) – dropped the boar’s head charge, and in 1335 was using as his seal the arms borne by his great-uncle Henry at Caerlaverock (Fig. 1.1).⁹

The signature Graham design also features from the late 13th century in the younger Graham lineage, i.e., the line of descent whose second member is William de Grame’s younger son Alan, unhelpfully misrecorded in the Peerage as John (Fig. 1.1). Alan’s great-great-grandson, Sir David de Graham, deputy justiciar of Lothian in 1248, was “a notable accumulator of estates [... who] obtained royal confirmation for eighteen grants

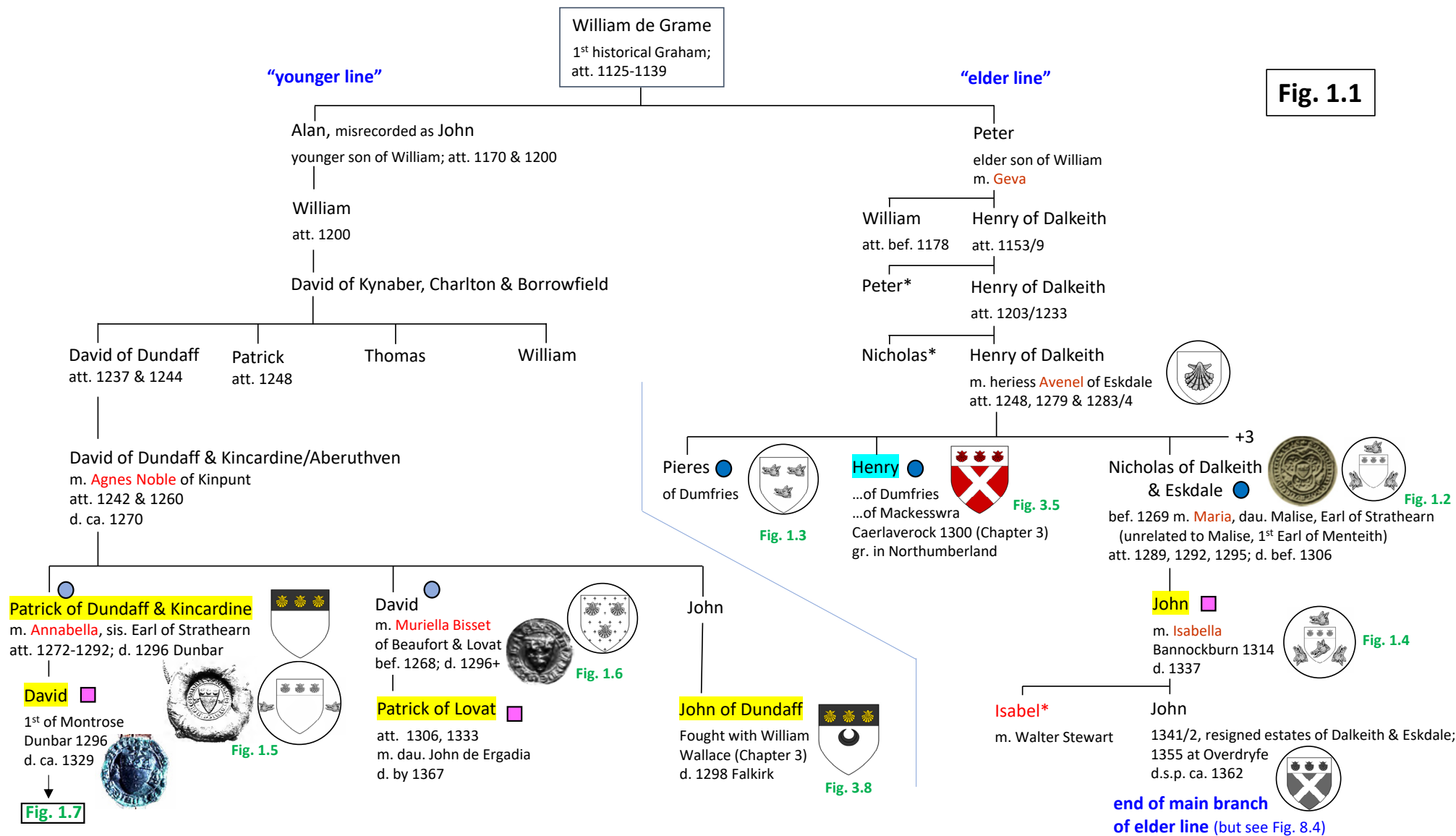


Fig. 1.1

Fig. 1.1 Genealogy and heraldry of the earliest Grahams.^{10,11} The “elder line” is often referred to as the line of Dalkeith and/or Abercorn. Women are named in red type. Seal designs are shown within black circles. Small coloured discs indicate Ragman Roll signatories, i.e. pledges of allegiance to Edward I of England; light blue ones mark signatories in 1291 (before Edward’s oppression of Scotland had begun), dark blue ones marks signatories in 1296 (after Edward’s victory at Dunbar in the course of his oppression of Scotland) (Chapter 3). Blue highlighting flags individuals who fought for Edward I of England, yellow highlighting flags those who opposed him and/or his son, Edward II (Chapter 3). The seal impression of David, 1st of Montrose, is from the Declaration of Arbroath, the Scottish Declaration of Independence issued in 1320;¹² signatories to the Declaration are marked with a small pink square. Asterisks denote individuals solely or primarily attested in Charles Cawley’s *Medieval Lands* prosopography database.¹³ Abbreviations in genealogical charts in this chapter: att., attested; bef., before; ca., *circa*; d., died; d.s.p., *decessit sine prole* (i.e., died without issue); dau., daughter; Eng., English; fl., *floruit* (i.e., flourished); gr., granted; m., married.

of land.”¹⁴ His son, Sir Patrick de Graham of Dundaff and Kincardine, 7th Graham via the younger line¹⁵ and Sheriff of Stirling by 1289,¹⁶ was in 1292 using the blank shield with 3 escallops in chief, flanked by two boar’s heads, as his seal (Fig. 1.5a,b);¹⁷ the same Pateryk de Graham (d. 1296) bore as his arms “Argent, on a chief sable, three escallops or” (Fig. 1.5c).¹⁸ In the same year, his brother Sir David de Graham used as his seal “a shield semée of cross crosslets fitchée three escallops” (Fig. 1.6a,b).¹⁹ The arms of Patrick and David’s brother John are not recorded *per se*, but the arms of his son – Sir John Graham of Dundaff,²⁰ whom we shall meet again in Chapter 3 as the companion of William Wallace – are known for the year 1298 (see ahead to Fig. 3.8).

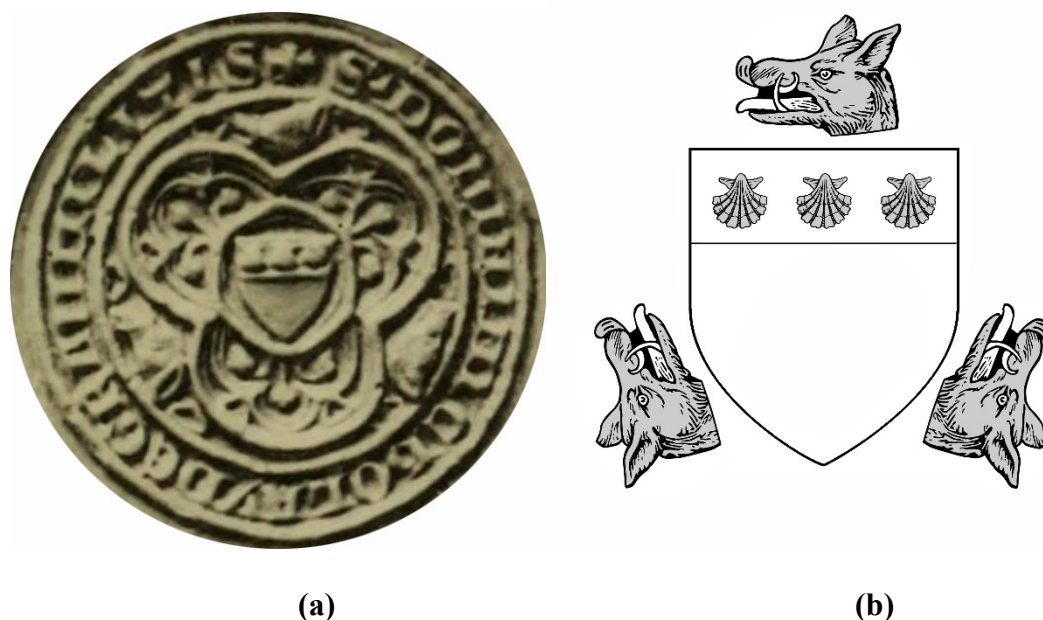


Fig. 1.2 (a) Photograph of the seal of Sir Nicholas de Graham of Abercorn/Dalkeith and Eskdale, ca. 1260.²¹ (b) Schematic of key elements in Sir Nicholas’ seal design.²²

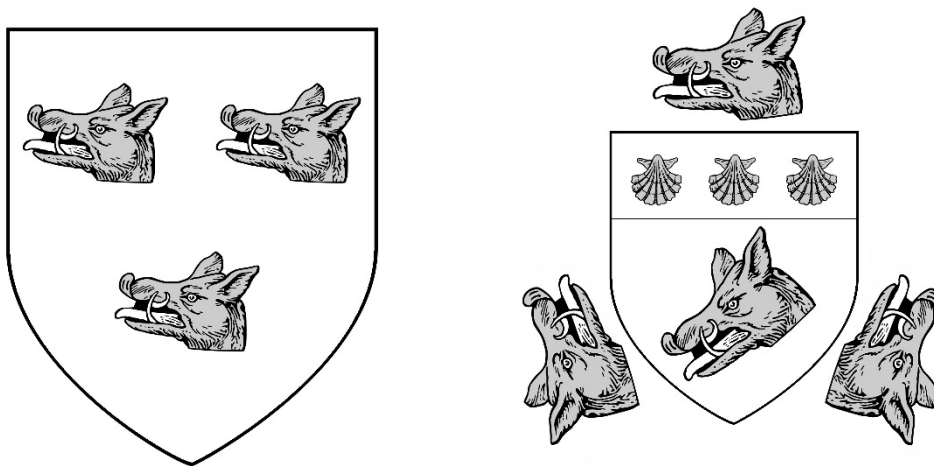


Fig. 1.3 (left) Schematic of key elements in the seal of Pieres de Graham of Dumfries, late 13th century, whose shield featured “three boars’ heads couped only.”²³

Fig. 1.4 (right) Schematic of key elements in the seal of Sir John de Graham of Abercorn / Dalkeith and Eskdale (d. 1337), whose shield featured “a boar’s head couped, muzzle downwards, on a chief three escallops.”²⁴

One may well wonder when the renowned “Or, on a chief Sable three escallops Or” first arose as a coat of arms – “the dazzling gold shield, with its black, shell-encrusted chief becoming the instantly recognisable sign of Graham.”²⁵ It seems that the basic design – “on a chief, three escallops” – originated in the elder line in the late 13th century with Sir Nicholas of Dalkeith and Eskdale (Fig. 1.1 & 1.2). Bruce McAndrew observes of the 13-14th-century Grahams that “the two principal families [i.e., the elder and younger lines] differenced their arms by changing the colour of field and charges.”²⁶ On the occasions when colours are noted for early Graham arms, it is for members of the younger line that Or and Sable are employed, being used for the charges and the chief, respectively (e.g. Fig. 1.5 & Fig. 3.8). Overall, then, we can say that the basic design originated in the elder line in the late 13th century, with the colour scheme of Or and Sable becoming entrenched in the younger line over the following century. We do not encounter for certain the famous arms until the record of “or, on a plain chief sable, three escallops or” in respect of Sir William Graham of Mugdock, the 11th Graham via the younger line,²⁷ in the late 14th- to early 15th century (Fig. 1.7 & 1.8).²⁸ His father’s arms are recorded as “Or, a Chief three escallops,”²⁹ and since the eldest son would normally inherit his father’s arms, we can be fairly confident that William’s father – Sir Patrick of Dundaff and Kincardine (d. 1400) – would have had exactly the same bearings (Fig. 1.8).³⁰ However, it is difficult to know how far back beyond Sir Patrick to project the configuration. In the other direction, though, we find that the familiar “or, on a chief sable, three escallops or” is recorded for Sir William of Mugdock’s grandson, Patrick, 1st Lord Graham (d. 1466) (Fig. 1.7, 1.8 & 4.6a).³¹ Thereafter, these bearings remain a key component of the arms borne by Patrick’s descendants. The arms of collateral branches of the younger line are shown in Figs. 1.9-1.16; those of the main house, in which the Graham arms become

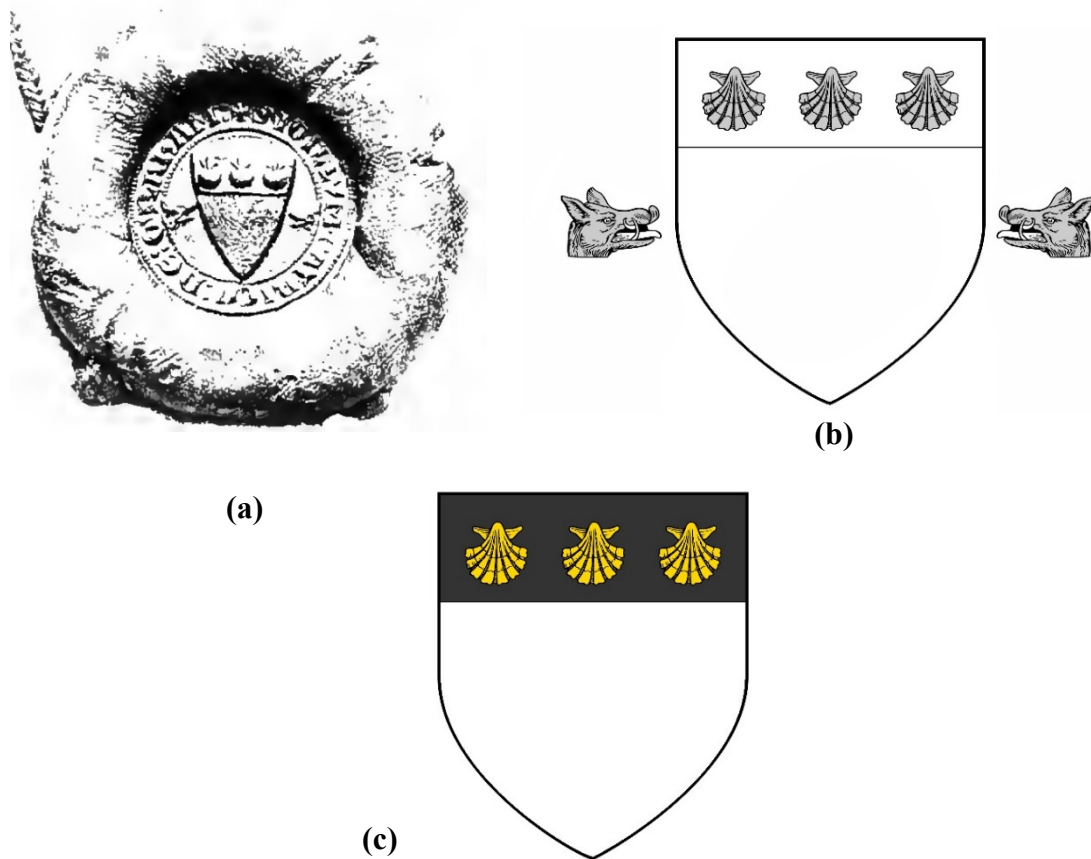


Fig. 1.5 (a) Seal impression of Sir Patrick de Graham of Dundaff and Kincardine, *ca.* 1292.³² **(b)** Schematic of key elements in Sir Patrick's seal design, which consisted of a chief charged with three escallop shells [...] and on either side of the shield is a boar's head."³³ **(c)** Arms of Sir Patrick, "argent, on a chief sable, three escallops or."³⁴

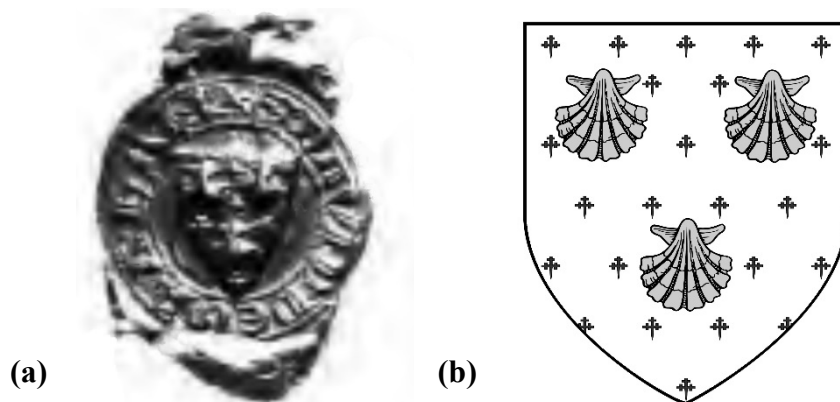


Fig. 1.6 (a) Seal impression of Sir David de Graham of Lovat.³⁵ **(b)** Schematic of key elements in Sir David's seal design, which consisted of "a shield crusilly, 3 escallops, 2 and 1,"³⁶ equally blazoned as "a shield semée of cross crosslets fitchée three escallops."³⁷

David of Kincardine, 2nd of Montrose (9th Graham, via younger line). Elder brother of Patrick* (d. after 1362).

1

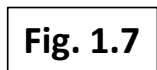


Fig. 1.7 Genealogy and heraldry of subsequent Grahams of the younger line (following on from Fig. 1.1),³⁸ with a focus on the origin of important collateral houses. All non-seal bearings (i.e. those not enclosed within black circles) other than those of Patrick, Archbishop of St. Andrews, are depicted in colour (the first shield for John of Morphie being coloured Sable and Argent). Abbreviations, asterisks, red type, etc. are as for Fig. 1.1.

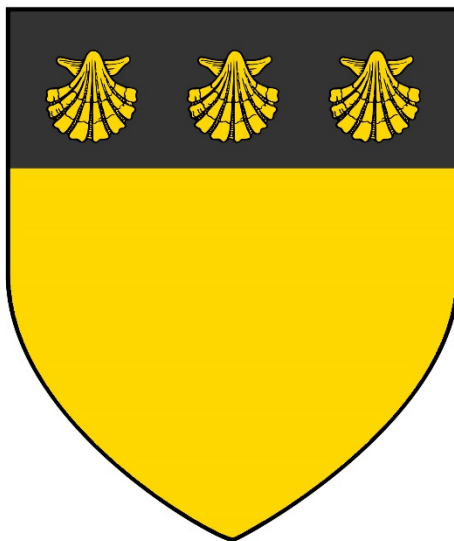
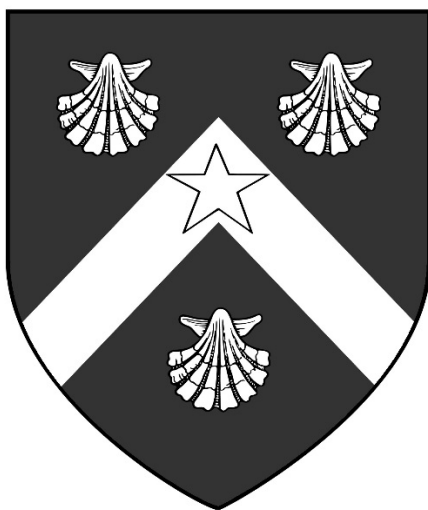
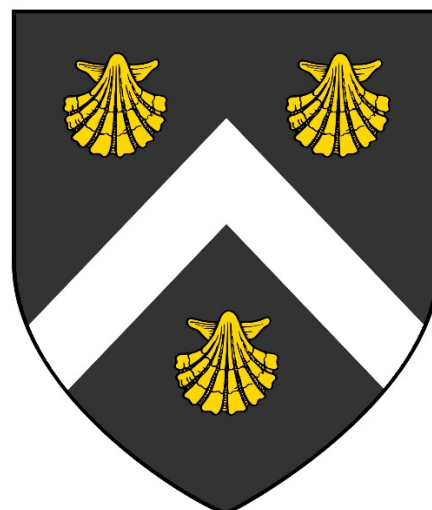


Fig. 1.8 Arms of Sir Patrick Graham of Dundaff and Kincardine (d. 1400) and subsequent heirs in his line, including Sir William Graham of Mugdock: “or, on a plain chief sable, three escallops or.” These undifferentiated arms are now the default bearings for Grahams in general.



(a)



(b)

Fig. 1.9 (a) Arms of Sir John Graham of Morphie, *floruit* 1370, whose seal displays a chevron between the Graham escallops.³⁹ Much later, his arms are blazoned in the Hague Roll (1590-92) as “sable, on a chevron argent, between three escallops argent a mullet (uncoloured).”⁴⁰ (b) In the reign of James I/VI (1567-1625), arms for Sir Robert Graham of Morphie were recorded in *Balfour’s Books of Blazons* as “sable, a cheveron argent, between three escallops or.”⁴¹

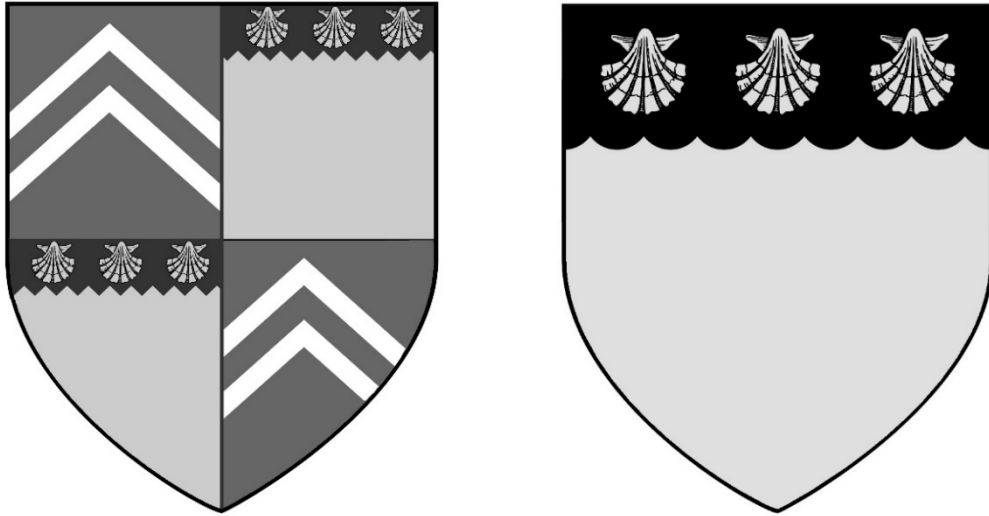


Fig. 1.10 (left) Shield in the seal of Sir Patrick Graham of Kinpunt & Eliston (d.1413), ancestor of the Grahams of Menteith, who had married the sole heiress of David Stewart, Earl of Strathearn: “Quarterly, 1st & 4th, two chevrons (Earldom of Strathearn); 2nd & 3rd, On a chief indented, three escallops.”⁴²

Fig. 1.11 (right) Shield in the seal of Sir Robert Graham of Strathcarron, ancestor of the Grahams of Fintry, in which the Graham chief is borne invected.⁴³



Fig. 1.12 Arms of Graham of Fintry, descendants of Sir Robert Graham of Strathcarron. Over time, the extrusions of Sir Robert’s invected chief (Fig. 1.11) became consolidated as “a chief dancetty of three points,” which with Sir David Graham, 6th of Fintry (d. 1592), had become extended to three piles, his blazon being “or, three piles sable within a double tressure flory counterflory gules surmounted by a chief sable charged with three escallops argent.”⁴⁴ The royal tressure recognizes the family’s descent from the royal house via Sir Robert’s mother, Mary Stewart, the daughter of Robert III.⁴⁵ The modern arms have the escallops Or. Image by Balmung0731, adapted here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.⁴⁶

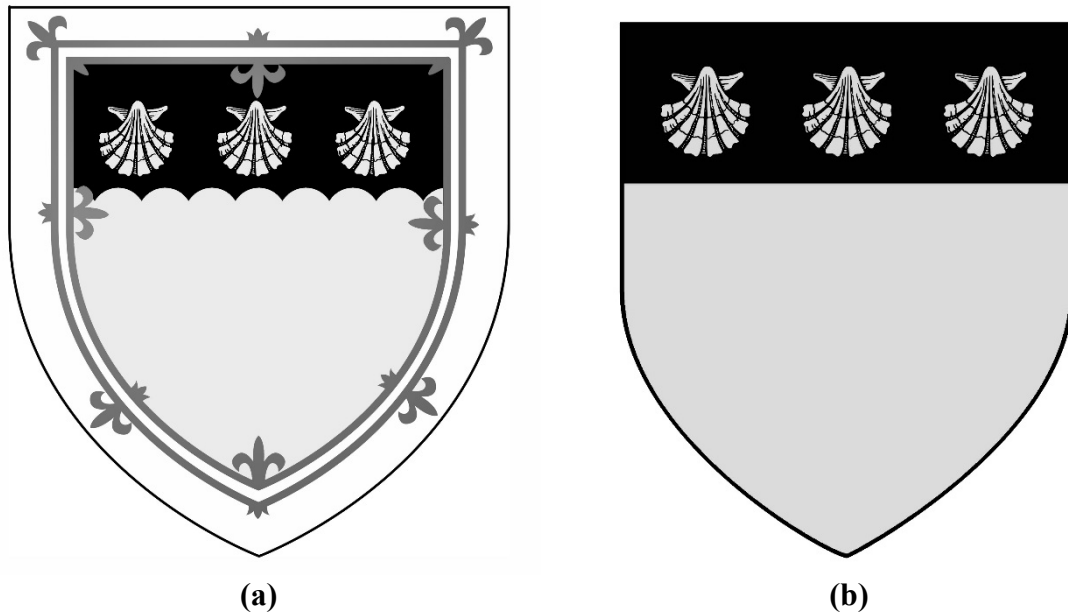


Fig. 1.13 (a, b) Arms of Patrick Graham, Archbishop of St. Andrews.⁴⁷ These two shields are carved in statuary and are presumably unpainted, as colours have not been recorded.⁴⁸ Shield (a) is blazoned “on a chief engrailed three escallops within a royal tressure;” the tressure recognizes Patrick’s descent from the royal house via his mother, Mary Stewart, the daughter of Robert III.⁴⁹ Image (a) by Balmung0731, adapted here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.⁵⁰

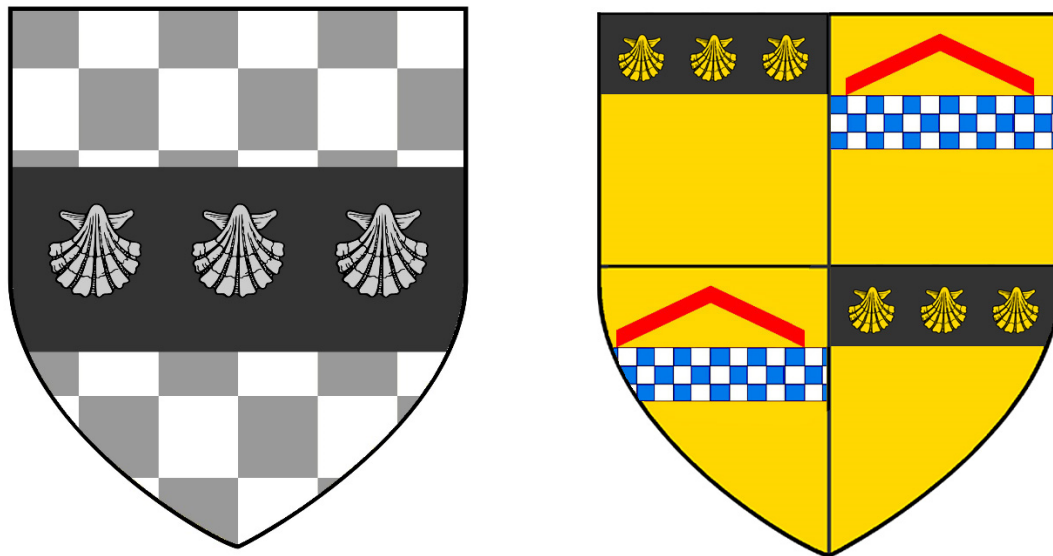


Fig. 1.14 (left) Shield in the seal of Malise Graham (d. 1485-90), who spent much of his life (1427-53) as a parole hostage in England. James I deprived him of his Earldom of Strathearn and in its place granted him a moiety of Menteith. His seal carries “chequy, on a fess, three escallops.”⁵¹

Fig. 1.15 (right) Arms of Graham of Menteith. The 1st and 4th quarters are for Graham; 2nd and 3rd quarters are, for the Earldom of Menteith, “or, on a fess chequy azure and argent, a chevron gules in chief.”⁵²

quartered with “argent, three roses gules, for the title of Montrose,”⁵³ is shown in Fig. 1.17.

To commemorate its early association with Sir Henry de Graham (5th Graham via the elder line) and his descendants, the arms of the Scottish burgh of Dalkeith (Fig. 1.18) have as their 1st quarter the golden shield with three golden scallops on a black chief.⁵⁴ As we have already seen, Sir Henry’s seal is known but his arms and their colours are not. Sometimes pragmatism requires anachronism; the bearings incorporated by the burgh are of course the arms made famous by later Grahams of the younger line. Over time, the undifferentiated Graham bearings (Fig. 1.8) have grown in importance to the extent that they now serve as the default arms for Grahams in general (Fig. 1.19).⁵⁵

Despite the popularity of the boar’s head in the elder line and its presence in the younger one during the late 13th to early 14th century, there is little further use of it in Graham heraldry until its revival in the grant of arms to a Border Graham – a distant descendant of the elder line – in 1553 (see ahead to Fig. 9.4).⁵⁶ In contrast, the scallops – as we have just seen – endure to the present day, thereby begging the question of whether they carry some meaning. The significance and symbolism of the shells deserves its own chapter in this book, so this topic is reprised below in Chapter 12.

Motto and crest

But let us return to the mystery of the motto. In its original Anglo-Norman form, it reads *Non oblie* or *Ne oblie* – “Do not forget.” It is a common enough phrase, featuring for example in a medieval French text of the *Aeneid*⁵⁷ and in a 12th-century Anglo-Norman rhymed sermon for Ash Wednesday.⁵⁸ In English, Shakespeare uses the instruction as a complete sentence, spoken to Hamlet by the ghost of his late father.⁵⁹

N’oubliez was the motto in the ducal achievement of the 1st Duke of Montrose in 1702.⁶⁰ In 1997, James Graham, the 8th Duke of Montrose and *ex officio* Chief of the Grahams, provided an answer to the perennial question – “What are we not to forget?” – to the Clan Graham Society: “My hope would be that those associated with the name of Graham would be a repository of the best of traditions that we are asked not to forget, some of which are contained in the concept of chivalry, bravery and Christian service to your fellow man.”⁶¹ This statement, with its laudable sentiments, appears to be the only official pronouncement ever made on the matter.

One way to shed light on cryptic family mottos is to look at the mottos of collateral branches of the surname; some of these reformulate the original sentiment using different words, while others adopt a related motif, and yet others invent for themselves a completely new slogan. The mottos of various Graham family lines are shown in Table 1.1; the list is not exhaustive, and focuses on older examples in the hope that some of these might shed light on the original instruction, or at least give some clue as to how it was interpreted by Grahams in earlier times.

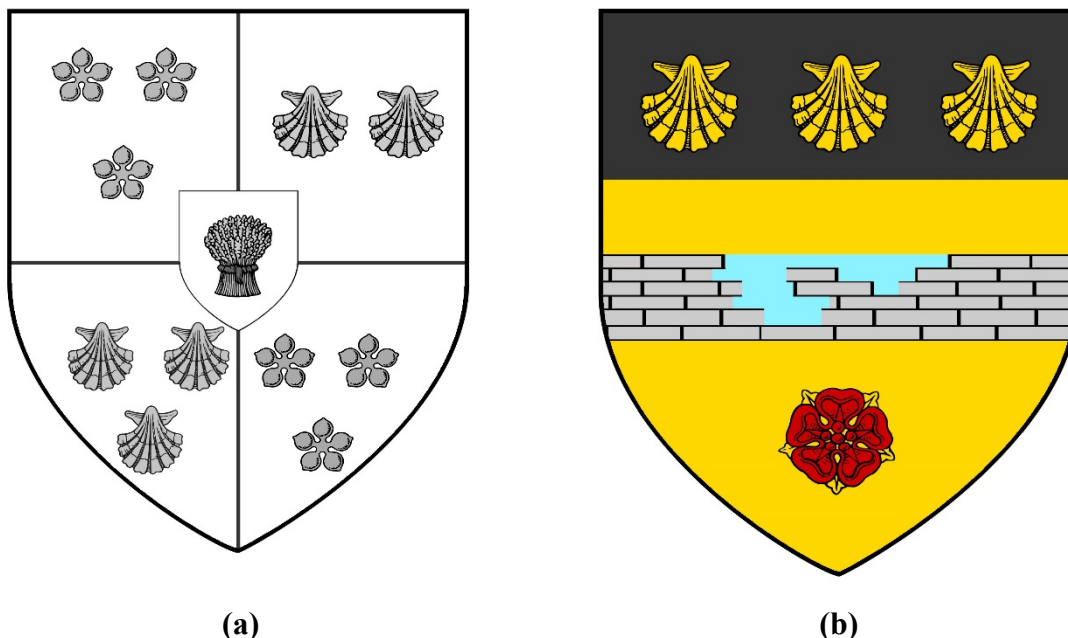


Fig. 1.16 (a) Shield in the seal of Graeme of Inchbrakie, showing the original arms of the family as a cadet of Montrose: “Quarterly, 1st & 4th, three cinquefoils (for roses); 2nd, two escallops; 3rd, three escallops; on an inescutcheon surtout, a garb.”⁶² (b) Later arms of Graeme of Inchbrakie, from 1662-77 to present. The coat shown is that granted to Patrick Graeme, 5th of Inchbrakie (“Black Pate,” d. 1687): “or, a dyke fesswise, broken in places azure, a rose gules in base, on a chief sable, three escallops or.”⁶³ The broken wall commemorates the legendary ancestor Gryme or Grayme, who is held to have breached the Antonine Wall, *ca.* 405 CE (Chapter 2).⁶⁴ No doubt the azure represents blue sky visible through the gaps created in the wall.

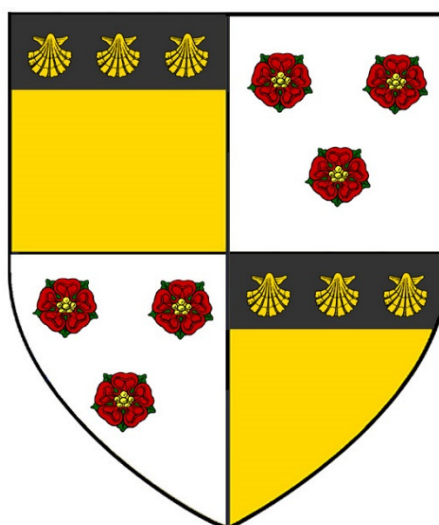


Fig. 1.17 Arms of the 1st Duke of Montrose (formerly the 4th Marquis of Montrose), from 1702: “Quarterly, 1st & 4th, or, on a chief sable, three escallops or (Graham); 2nd & 3rd, argent, three roses gules, barbed and seeded proper (Earldom of Montrose).”⁶⁵

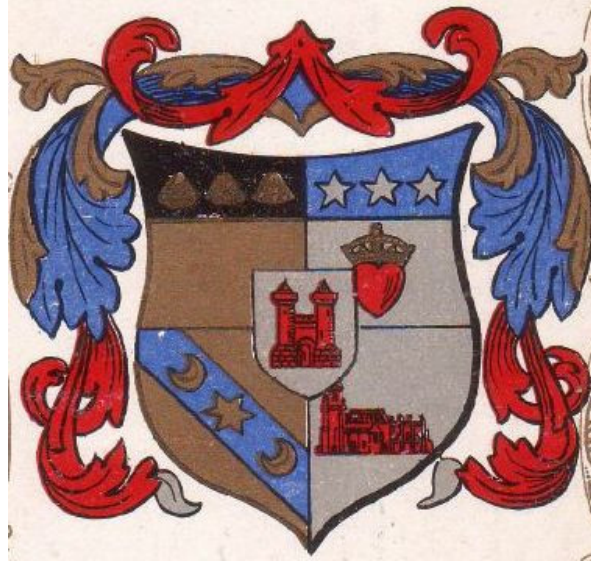


Fig. 1.18 Arms of the Burgh of Dalkeith in Midlothian, Scotland, from 1905. The city's current arms retain the 1st quarter as "Or, on a chief Sable, three escallops of the field" for Graham.⁶⁶



Fig. 1.19 Helmet and generic Graham shield outside a knight's tent at the St. Ives Medieval Faire, Sydney (23 Sep, 2017).⁶⁷

Table 1.1. Mottos of selected Graham family lines.^{68,69}

Branch/House	Type	Mottos ⁷⁰
Montrose & Airth	Variants	<i>Non oblie</i> = <i>Ne oblie</i> = <i>Ne oublie</i> = <i>N'oublie</i> = <i>Ne oubliez</i> (Do not forget) <i>Non immemor</i> (Not forgetful) <i>Memor esto</i> (Be mindful) <i>Praediae memor</i> = <i>Praedae memor</i> (Mindful of the prize/ gain/booty/prey) <i>Souvenez</i> (Remember)
	New	<i>Defendendo vinco</i> (I conquer by defending) <i>Noli me tangere</i> (Do not touch me) <i>Auxiliante resurgo</i> (I arise through help) <i>Spero meliora</i> (I hope for better things)
Menteith & Netherby & Fermanagh/Galway	Variants	Right and Reason Reason contents me <i>Ratio mihi sufficit</i> (Reason is sufficient for me) For right and reason
	New	Peace and grace
Fintry & Claverhouse	Variants	<i>Recta sursum</i> (Things are right which are above) <i>Semper sursum</i> (Always upward) <i>Nunquam deorsum</i> (Never down)
	New	<i>Bon fin</i> (A good end)
Inchbrakie		<i>A Deo victoria</i> (Victory from God) <i>Sepulto viresco</i> (I grow green when buried) <i>Nec temere nec timide</i> (Neither rashly nor timidly) <i>Numen et omnia</i> (Authority and all things) <i>Cubo et excubo</i> (I rest while I watch)
Douglaston		<i>Pignus amoris</i> (The pledge of love)
Morphie		<i>Hinc decus inde tegmen</i> (From this quarter honour, from that protection)
Newark		<i>Fides et amor</i> (Faith and love)

The other source of hope in understanding mottos is that they sometimes relate to the scene depicted in the crest that they accompany. For example, *A Deo victoria* (Victory from God) is paired with a crest in which a hand presents a garland, the victor's wreath; the crest for the enigmatic *Sepulto viresco* (I grow green when buried) shows a human skull encircled by two palm branches.⁷¹ It is therefore necessary to pay particular attention to the crest that accompanies *Ne oublie*. This is usually given as “A falcon proper beaked and armed or, killing a stork argent armed gules”⁷² (Fig. 1.20).⁷³ Its origins are unclear, but it is worth noting the presence of a Ragman Roll seal that probably belonged to Anabella, wife of Sir Patrick of Dundaff and Kincardine (d. 1296), which depicts “a hawk killing a small bird;”⁷⁴ moreover, by the later part of the 16th century, the Montrose crest is a falcon's head and the supporters are a falcon and a stork.⁷⁵ Nowhere is an explanation offered for the crest of the Montrose Grahams in its current confrontational form,⁷⁶ which dates back at least to the 1st Duke in 1702.⁷⁷ Traditionally, storks are regarded positively as symbols of fertility and harbingers of babies; they have also long been taken as emblems of marital fidelity and of reciprocal care between parents and offspring.⁷⁸ Chaucer, in his *Parliament of Fowls*, highlights their 14th-century association with fidelity when he speaks of “The stork, the wreker of avouterye,” i.e. the avenger of adultery.⁷⁹ Considered bringers of luck in general, storks were and are protected in many cultures.⁸⁰



Fig. 1.20 The Graham of Montrose badge, which shows the crest enclosed by a buckled belt; the crest is blazoned as “a falcon proper beaked and armed or, killing a stork argent armed gules.”⁸¹ Adapted from a design by Celtus, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.⁸²

Several variants of *Ne oublie* appear among the cadet lineages of House Graham (Table 1.1). *Non immemor* (Not forgetful), *Memor esto* (Be mindful) and *Souvenez* (Remember) are clearly reflexes of the original “Do not forget,” but do not clarify what is not to be forgotten. *Praedae memor*, however, does supply the object of remembrance. This motto, granted in the reign of James VI to a Killearn Graham – Col. Henry Graham – whose grandfather was brother to the Earl of Montrose,⁸³ may be translated as “Mindful of the prize.”⁸⁴ Less tactful translations would render the motto as “Mindful of gain”⁸⁵ or “Mindful of plunder / booty / pillage.” Col. Henry’s crest was a falcon, and the supporters of his arms were a falcon and a stork.⁸⁶ We have already seen that the motto often complements the crest, and *vice versa*. For a raptor such as the falcon, the motto would mean “Mindful of prey.”⁸⁷

Unfortunately, this last translation also seems ideally suited to the main Montrose crest, which shows a falcon preying on a stork, with two further storks below it as supporters of the coat of arms.⁸⁸ If we accept this 16th/17th-century take on the motto-crest combination, then the unspoken thing that we are continually enjoined to remember by *Ne oublie* is that we should take by violence the wealth of those weaker than ourselves; we are the falcon, and the abundance and bounty symbolized by the silver stork becomes ours by force. We actually see this rapacious philosophy enacted in real life by the Border Grahams of the 13th to 16th centuries, whose nefarious deeds are recounted in Chapter 8. If this unpalatable interpretation of the crest and motto is correct, then it is undoubtedly a good thing that none of us can remember that which we are exhorted not to forget. Therein lies a potential explanation for the clan’s collective amnesia.

A more decorous possibility is that the Montrose motto and crest are unrelated. In this case, the exhortation of the motto is likely to have originated in the Old Testament, a possibility consistent with the Clan Graham Society’s assertion that the motto “may be based upon biblical teachings.”⁸⁹ In the Book of Deuteronomy, the Israelites are repeatedly cautioned against negligence and disobedience as follows (Deut. 6:10-12):⁹⁰ “When the LORD your God has brought you into the land that he swore to your ancestors [...] to give to you [...] and when you have eaten your fill, take care that you **do not forget** the LORD, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery.” Similarly, two chapters later (Deut. 8:11): “Take care that you **do not forget** the LORD your God, by failing to keep his commandments, his ordinances, and his statutes, which I am commanding you today.” And again, closer to the end of the book (Deut. 25:19): “Therefore when the LORD your God has given you rest from all your enemies on every hand, in the land that the LORD your God is giving you as an inheritance to possess, you shall blot out the remembrance of Amalek⁹¹ from under heaven; **do not forget.**”

However, the clearest and most direct formulation of the instruction – which has the distinction of also being the most lyrical – is to be found among the Proverbs (Prov. 4:1-9):

Listen, children, to a father's instruction,
 and be attentive, that you may gain insight;
 for I give you good precepts:
 do not forsake my teaching.
 When I was a son with my father,
 tender, and my mother's favourite,
 he taught me, and said to me,
 "Let your heart hold fast my words;
 keep my commandments, and live.
 Get wisdom; get insight: **do not forget**, nor turn away
 from the words of my mouth.
 Do not forsake her, and she will keep you;
 love her, and she will guard you.
 The beginning of wisdom is this: Get wisdom,
 and whatever else you get, get insight.
 Prize her highly, and she will exalt you;
 she will honour you if you embrace her.
 She will place on your head a fair garland;
 she will bestow on you a beautiful crown."

In older English of the King James version, the wording of the injunction is "forget [it] not." In the original Hebrew, the command is *אל-תשכח* (phonetically, "al-tishkach").⁹²

In sum, the Graham motto *Ne oublie* remains thoroughly ambiguous. Among endless possibilities, it may be an incitement to plunder the wealth of others or an exhortation to acquire wisdom and insight. Of those two interpretations, I know which I prefer.

The afterlife of epigrams

Mottos, maxims, epigrams and epithets can be used as surrogates for surnames. Accordingly, thanks to the Graham diaspora, a marker of identity such as *Ne oublie* can turn up in the most unexpected of places.

One such example is afforded by the 19th-century traders William and John Graham, whose extensive business interests – both in their native Scotland and in India – caused a contemporary historian to rank them "among the merchant princes of Great Britain."⁹³ Having founded a textile-trading firm in the Portuguese town of Porto, in 1820 they accepted 27 barrels of port in settlement of a debt. "The two brothers decided then to devote their energies to making the best Port wines from the Douro Valley: and so the Graham's Port house was born."⁹⁴ The company was bought in 1970 by the Symington family, whose ancestor Andrew J. Symington had arrived in Portugal in 1882; after first working for Graham's, he went on to set up his own port company. This firm later acquired that of his original employer, and Graham's is owned to this day by the Symington family. In 2012, the family decided to release, via the Graham's label, 656 bottles of a single-vintage tawny port that dates back to the arrival of Andrew Symington in Portugal in 1882.⁹⁵ As it states on the Graham's Port website, "The family have named this wine 'Ne Oublie' after the original Graham's family motto and for the company where Andrew Symington started his life's work."⁹⁶ A 6-minute video documentary

celebrates the history and release of the port.⁹⁷ In the words of one reviewer, “This virtually immortal 1882 has such enormous colour, depth, viscous concentration and intensity of flavour that it really has to be tasted to be believed.”⁹⁸ Other reviews are similarly enthusiastic.⁹⁹ Sales began in 2014, but with a price-tag of about £4,500 (US\$6000) per bottle,¹⁰⁰ I will have to take these glowing appraisals on trust.

Another example of the meandering motto is afforded by the steamship *Ne Oblie*, which was built by William McCulloch in 1874 in the Great Lakes/Manning River region of New South Wales, Australia.¹⁰¹ Registered in Noumea, and with a crew of 15 men, this sloop sailed regularly between ports in Australia, New Caledonia and Vanuatu (formerly called the New Hebrides).¹⁰² In November 1884 she transported John Higginson, a trader representing the French-owned Compagnie Caledonienne des Nouvelles-Hébrides (CCNH), from Noumea to the New Hebrides,¹⁰³ towing behind her the hulk of the 700-ton French warship *Chevert*. On arrival at Sandwich Harbour, a treaty between several local chiefs and France (as represented by the CCNH) was signed on board the *Ne Oblie*, a deed by which the Compagnie acquired the land of Sandwich Harbour and the indigenous inhabitants became subjects of France.¹⁰⁴ Ten years later, the *Ne Oblie* was owned by the Société Française des Nouvelles-Hébrides (SFNH), and in April 1894 she transported Captain Donald Macleod – a South Pacific trader described as “the lynchpin around whom the French effort to open up the New Hebrides was presently built” – to his headquarters in Vila (Vanuatu) and thence back to Noumea (New Caledonia).¹⁰⁵ Despite her importance to the colonisation of the South Pacific islands, the *Ne Oblie* was clearly far from an ideal flagship; described as “slow and unsuitable” for the transport of produce from the French settlements to market in Noumea,¹⁰⁶ she was elsewhere dismissed as “a little tub owned by the SFNH.”¹⁰⁷

In 1999, a British racehorse owned by Graham’s Racing was called *Ne Oublie*. Sired by Makbul on Parkside Prospect, and trained by John Mackie, this bay colt died prematurely at three years of age, after being placed third in two UK races.¹⁰⁸

“Do Not Forget” is the title track on the 2014 album released by Jon Dee Graham, a guitarist and songwriter from Austin, Texas.¹⁰⁹ A former member of the True Believers with Alejandro Escovedo, Jon is the only musician ever to be inducted three times into the Austin Music Hall of Fame.¹¹⁰ The song under discussion opens with an Old Testament-style genealogy that ends in the present. In an uncanny echo of the paternal instruction from Proverbs quoted above, the lyrics continue with “When I was a little boy, my father told me...” The song goes on to provide Jon’s instructions to his own two sons: “Tell the truth whenever possible, Don’t resort to violence unless you have to, but above all... please be kind!” The chorus, of course, consists of repeats of the Graham motto, “Do not forget.”

Ne Oublie crops up again as the title of a poem submitted to a 2017 poetry competition run by Live Borders, a library and archive service in the Border region of Scotland (i.e., where the western border of Scotland meets that of England). The competition was intended to save and share stories of the Scottish Borders in World War I.¹¹¹ The poem *Ne Oublie (do not forget)* describes the life and fate of Joseph Douglas Graham of

Langholm, Dumfries, who went to Egypt with the Army Veterinary Corps in 1915 as a Private, Service No. SE/4278. He died in a Cairo hospital on 30th August, 1916, and is buried in Egypt.^{112,113} The poem's greatest surprise may lie in the Borders pronunciation of *Ne Oublie* as "Nal AbLa," which can be heard on many occasions in the audio recording of the poem.¹¹⁴ The submission is presumably read by its author, who writes under the amusing pseudonym "Glen Livet."

The Graham armorial colours of gold and black, immortalised in text by Louisa G. Graeme in her 1903 title *Or and Sable – A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, have surfaced together quite often in recent times, although (as far as I can tell) none of the instances has a Graham connection. Gold and Black was the New Zealand-bred racehorse that Johnny Duggan rode to victory in the 1977 Melbourne Cup for owner and racetrack legend Bart Cummings.¹¹⁵ Staying in Australia, the supermarket chain IGA/Franklins encloses its "no frills" home brand products in black and yellow packaging, and uses Black & Gold as its registered trademark.¹¹⁶ This begs the question of why this colour pairing has become associated with thrift. While the Graham colours might have been appropriated as a nod to the apocryphal stinginess of the Scots, it is more likely that the colloquial designation of oil as "black gold" has led these colours to be taken jointly as a metaphor for industrial wealth. A clothing company that draws its inspiration from the Latin American "Day of the Dead" tradition also sells under the brand-name Black and Gold, although no explanation of the name is given.¹¹⁷ A poetic note is struck by Sam Sparro's 2008 hit song *Black and Gold*, written by Sam Falson and Jesse Rogg,¹¹⁸ which received nominations for Grammy and Aria awards. In this case, the colour pairing has its origin in a romantic view of the heavens:¹¹⁹

I look up into the night sky
I see a thousand eyes staring back
And all around these golden beacons
I see nothing but black.

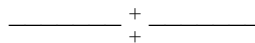
Let us end this excursus by noting that many pairings of "sable" with "or" rely not upon Sable as the black tincture of heraldry but upon *sable* as the modern French word for "sand." This is the case for Jean-Marc Mandosio's 2008 book *D'Or et de Sable* ("Of Gold and Sand"), which is actually a collection of anti-industrial social criticisms published as an extension to the delightfully-named *Encyclopedia of Nuisances*.¹²⁰ It is true also for Armani's *Privé Sable Or*, a limited-edition unisex fragrance launched in 2015, which claims to draw its inspiration from the (presumably golden) sands of the Mediterranean.¹²¹ This perfume invites us to abandon the increasingly unrewarding pursuit of our errant epigrams in favour of losing ourselves in a heady cloud of "vanilla, violet, sandalwood, iris, benzoin and tonka bean [... with] a slightly salted skin aroma that is intoxicating and addictive."¹²² It would be churlish to refuse.



The first Graham

William de Grame is the first historically attested Graham (Fig. 1.1);¹ his several appearances as a witness to charters (which relate to Scotland or, in one case, to northern England) are variously dated to 1125-28 and 1139;² 1127-28;³ before 1128 and again in 1139, before 1147 and again in 1150;⁴ before 1142 and again in 1147-52.⁵ Prior to William, we enter a realm of uncertainty dominated by tradition, legend and fantasy. As J.H. Stevenson wrote in a 1902 article titled “*The Grahams – The First Graham in History*,” “eagerly we scan the horizon of our records, and note each speck of fact which by any possibility refers to the distant leader of his race. But withal, the first Graham of record is but a shadowy personage, and is never seen in the centre of the stage.”⁶ Even after William’s appearance in the documentary record, early relationships are often less than certain. The founders of the elder and younger Graham lines, Peter and Alan, “may be supposed to have been his sons,”⁷ but it is also possible that they were more remote relatives.⁸

In this chapter, let us concentrate on arriving at the person of William de Grame. The proposed origins of the family can be clustered into three main camps, two of which can be subdivided into two groups. Each camp and its component groups will be described and discussed in turn. The descriptions will set forth the beliefs and arguments of each case as they would be presented by a proponent or adherent; statements in these passages should not be mistaken for endorsement or acceptance of the position on my part. The chapter will conclude with fresh and surprising insights that have been gleaned in the last decade from genetic genealogy – conclusions which I do endorse, and which have an enormous bearing on the family’s origin story.



CAMP 1: *The Grahams have Pictish origins*

This seems to be the position of the current Graemes of Inchbrakie, whose website contains the claim that “there is good evidence that the Grames were active in Scotland well before the Norman invasion of England.”⁹ It later suggests that “they were a part of the indigenous population that settled what is today Scotland at the end of the last ice age [...] Given their largely East coast location, this would possibly make them of Pictish origin.” The suggestion is sensibly qualified by caveats and its tentative nature is highlighted by the author’s desire to “let it remain just a guess.”

A belief in indigenous Pictish origins can be – and has been – combined with the main tenet of CAMP 2 to form Group 2A.

CAMP 2: Gryme/Gramus breached the Romans' Antonine Wall

Members of this camp share a belief in an ancestral Gryme or Graym (sometimes Latinised to Gramus), a Pictish or Scottish leader who helped Fergus Mór mac Eirc, the 5th-century founding king of Scotland in the national myth, to attack and breach the Romans' Antonine Wall.

Construction of the Antonine Wall began in 142 CE, twenty years after the more southerly and more enduring Hadrian's Wall.¹⁰ This northern barrier was a turf fortification on stone foundations that stretched between the Firth of Forth and the Firth of Clyde (see ahead to Fig. 8.9). Some 60 km (37 miles) long, 3 m (10 ft) high and 5 m (16 ft) wide, it was enhanced by a deep ditch on the northern side and probably by a wooden palisade atop the turf ridge.¹¹

The Antonine Wall was abandoned in 162 CE, just eight years after its completion, when the Roman legions withdrew southward to Hadrian's Wall.¹² After a series of Scottish attacks in 197 CE, the emperor Septimius Severus arrived in Scotland in 208 CE and repaired parts of the Antonine Wall.¹³ Following the final Roman withdrawal from northern Britain *ca.* 400 CE, the wall proved useful to the Britons to its south. Gryme is believed to have been a general of Fergus's armies between 404 and 420 CE.¹⁴ Around 405 CE, "the Scottish leaders, and Gryme in particular, infuriated that they and their people should be penned into the northern part of their kingdom, attacked the [Antonine] wall in great force and levelled it to the ground. Part of the wall thus levelled has been known ever since as 'Grym's Dyke,' or in later years as 'Graham's Dyke.'"¹⁵

A white marble slab, purportedly found in the ruins of Falkirk Parish Church, bears an inscription allegedly dating to 1057 that reads "FVNERATVS HIC DESN ROB GRAHAM ILLE EVERVS VALL SEVERVS A.C.D. 15 FERGVSIVS II R. SCO."¹⁶ Unfortunately, many aspects of the inscription betray it as a forgery of a much later date.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the story of a Gryme or Graym destroying the Antonine Wall stretches back at least half a millennium. Hector Boece's *Historia Gentis Scotorum*, first published in 1527, is one source for the story that the Roman construction was destroyed by a Graham;¹⁸ Raphael Holmshead's history of Scotland, published in 1577, is reportedly another.¹⁹ George Buchanan's *Rerum Scoticarum Historia* of 1582 relates how,²⁰

gathering all their forces together, the [confederate kings] demolished the Wall of Severus, which was slightly repaired only by the hands of souldiers, and but negligently guarded neither by the Brittons, so that by this means, having a larger scope to forage in, they made the country beyond the Wall (which they were not able to keep, for want of men) useless to the Brittons for many miles. It is reported that one Graham was the principal man in demolishing that fortification; who, transporting his soldiers in ships, landed beyond the wall and slew the guards unawares and unprovided, and so made a passage to his men.

William Roy's *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain*, published in 1793, ascribes the breach to a Robert Graham (inspired, no doubt, by the Falkirk inscription)

and dates the event rather later than Fergus's time, to *ca.* 500 CE.²¹ Roy names the entire wall "Grime's Dyke" in honour of the agent of its destruction;²² other sources, such as Gillespie's *History of Stirlingshire*, nominate a specific location for that name.²³ A more likely etymology for the "Grym" in Grym's Dyke, however, is that it identifies the devil as the wall's builder; the name "Grim's Ditch" – the Devil's Ditch – is found several times in England in connection with early ramparts,²⁴ and ancient ridges in Germany – including Roman boundary walls – often shared the name Teufelsmauer, "the Devil's Wall."²⁵

Gryme's broken wall or dyke is commemorated in the later coat of arms of the Graemes of Inchbrakie,²⁶ which dates from the second half of the 17th century (Fig. 1.16b). There is also a tradition that a branch of Grahams who settled in the Gaelic-speaking district of Knapdale, Argyll, changed their name to Macilvernock. If the underlying Gaelic is Mac Gille Bhearnach, then the name can be translated as "Son of the Lad of the Gap."²⁷ The colourful etymology is not entirely convincing, given that it must contend with the phonetically equivalent possibility that the underpinning Gaelic phrase is Mac Gille Mhearnach, "Son of the Servant of St. Marnock."²⁸

Group 2A. Gryme had Pictish origins

In 1981, the first Genealogist of the Clan Graham Society – J. Kenneth Graham – concluded that the Grahams were derived from the indigenous Celtic inhabitants of Scotland, the Picts. While accepting that "we may have intermarried with the incoming Scots,²⁹ and occasionally t[aken] a wife from Denmark, our name and main line blood came down from the original natives of old Caledonia."³⁰ He believed himself "a Pict descendant of one who was there with Fergus, and [who] helped pull down a part of the Roman Wall in the early days."³¹

Group 2B. Gryme had Scots and Danish origins

George Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* of 1582 (which was quoted earlier in respect of the Antonine Wall's destruction) explains that the Romans, led by a certain Maximus, had conquered all of Britain and had expelled the Scots, killing King Fergus's father in the process.³² Fergus (Fergus II in Buchanan's count) was therefore raised in exile in Scandinavia. He eventually returned to Scotland and reconquered the Scottish lands.³³

The ancestral Gryme or Graym is believed to have also been born in Denmark. The son of an exiled Scots father³⁴ and a Danish mother, he himself married a Danish princess, or at least a noblewoman of that realm.³⁵ In turn, their daughter married Fergus (II);³⁶ she bore him three sons, the oldest of which was named Eugene (Fig. 2.1).³⁷ Some time before 501 CE, Fergus was killed in battle against Durstus, king of the Picts, and was succeeded by Eugene. Gryme or Graym acted as guardian to his grandson until the latter came of age,³⁸ serving in the interim as Regent or Governor of Scotland.³⁹

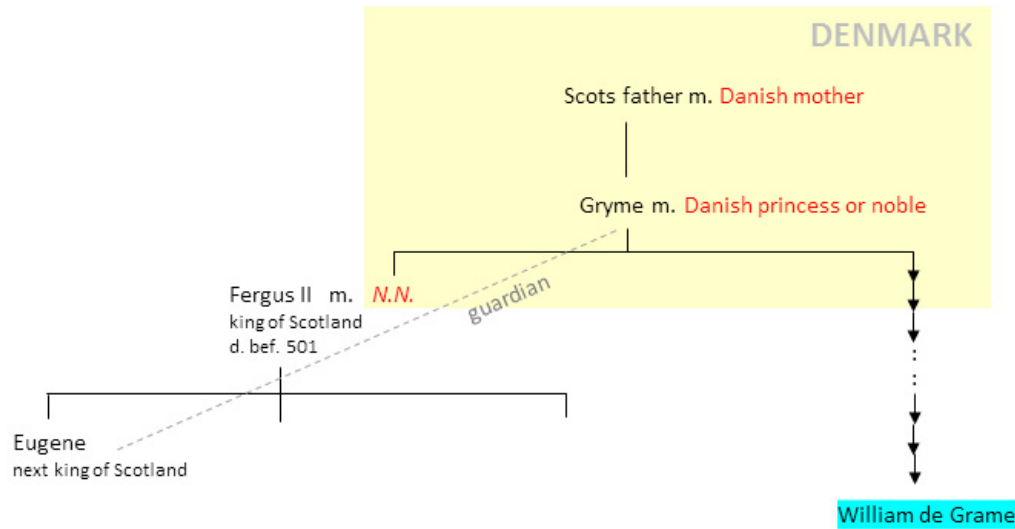


Fig. 2.1 Genealogy according to the origin theory from Group 2B: Gryme/Gramus had Scots and Danish origins. Women are in red type; William de Grame, the first historical Graham, is highlighted in cyan.

A Graham pedigree of 1747 presents a variation on the theme, in which it is Eugene (rather than his father Fergus) who marries the daughter of Gryme/Graym.⁴⁰ Either way, the male line of Gryme/Graym is presumed to have survived for the next half-millennium, ultimately emerging in the historical record in the form of William de Grame.

CAMP 3: William de Grame’s father came to Britain with William the Conqueror

The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* declares that the “Graham family (*per. c.*1250–1513), nobility, was descended from Anglo-Norman immigrants who came to Scotland under William the Lion [*r.* 1165–1214] and increased in importance from the twelfth century, particularly through the patronage of the Comyns.”⁴¹ In fact, there seems to be no doubt that there were Grahams in Scotland even earlier than this, as William de Grame was witnessing charters there in the 1120s under king David I.⁴² To the south, though, no person of the name Graham is recorded in the English Pipe Roll of 1129/30.⁴³

An assumption common to those who fix the family’s origins on the north-western seaboard of Europe is a belief that the prefix “de” in de Grame, de Graham, etc., necessarily indicates Norman origins or associations. However, following the Norman Conquest it is likely that “all things French were admired in Scotland at the time and therefore adding the word ‘de’ was done by most with aspirations of sophistication.”⁴⁴

Group 3A. *William de Grame had Norman and Anglo-Saxon origins – Chamberlain de Tancarville and Grantham*

In this scenario, Matilda, a descendent of the Anglo-Saxon King Alfred the Great, married William, the youngest son of Duke Richard I of Normandy,⁴⁵ a noble of Danish descent (Fig. 2.2).⁴⁶ Duke Richard's elder son, Duke Richard II, was the father of Duke William I, better known as William the Conqueror.⁴⁷ Matilda's daughter married Gerold de Tancarville, whose family were the hereditary Chamberlains of the dukes of Normandy (Fig. 2.3).⁴⁸ Their youngest son was William de Tancarville.⁴⁹

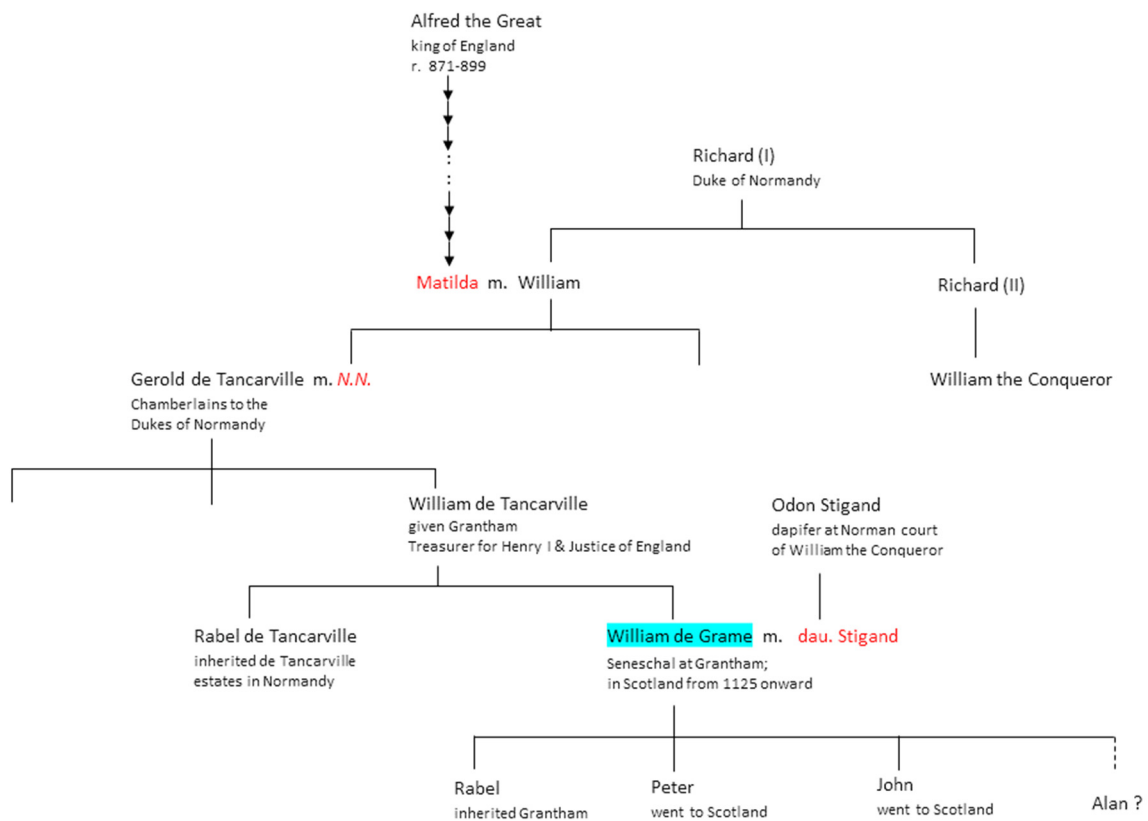


Fig. 2.2 Genealogy according to the origin theory from Group 3A: William de Grame had Norman and Anglo-Saxon origins. Colour conventions are as for Fig. 2.1.

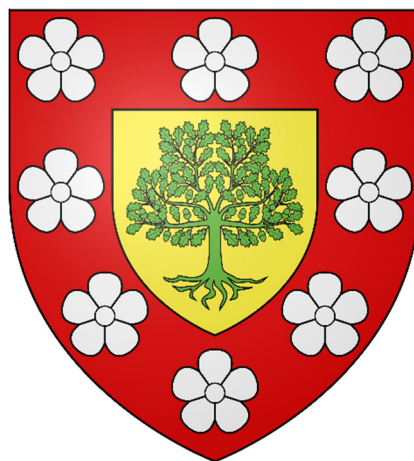


Fig. 2.3 Arms of de Tancarville, blazoned in French as “*de gueules à un écusson d’or chargé d’un chêne de sinople, accompagné de huit angemmes d’argent mises en orle.*” Image by Celbusro, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.⁵⁰

William de Tancarville travelled to England with William the Conqueror in the Norman Conquest of 1066, and was rewarded for his services with a great barony in Lincolnshire called Grantham.⁵¹ Eventually he assigned his extensive properties in Normandy to his eldest son, Rabel, and settled in England, where he later became Treasurer for King Henry I and Justice of England.⁵²

William de Grame was the youngest son of William de Tancarville.⁵³ William junior became Seneschal – estate manager – for his father at the Barony of Grantham.⁵⁴ He took the name William de Grantham, whose toponymic component was shortened to Graham, Graeme or Grame.⁵⁵ In the early records of England, Graham invariably means Grantham in Lincoln;⁵⁶ the town is recorded in the *Domesday Book* of 1086 as both Grantham and Graham.⁵⁷

William de Grame reportedly fought with the forces of King Henry I (r. 1100-1135), son of William the Conqueror, at Laigle in 1116 and at the Battle of Bremule in 1119, and is also supposed to have commanded the English forces in 1124 at the Battle of Bourgesraude.⁵⁸ William de Grame settled in Scotland in the time of King David I (r. 1124-1153).⁵⁹ He was in Scotland in 1125-28 when David I gifted land for a religious foundation at Holyrood House;⁶⁰ as first Justiciar of Scotland, William witnessed the charters for Holyrood Abbey (1126) and later the chapel (1128).⁶¹

William de Grame is believed to have married a daughter or a sister of Odon Stigand, who had been a dapifer or steward at the Norman court of William the Conqueror.⁶² From the generational register evident in Fig. 2.2, she was most likely a daughter. Their children – “Peter, who went to Scotland [...] John, who went to Scotland; and possibly Alan”⁶³ clearly correspond to those listed for William de Grame in Chapter 1: Peter, William’s elder son, whose line formed the Grahams of Dalkeith and Abercorn (Fig. 1.1), and Alan, misrecorded in the peerage as John, whose line formed the Grahams of

Dundaff and Kincardine (Fig. 1.1), from whom are derived the Grahams of Montrose and Menteith (Fig. 1.7). But a first son, Rabel, who supposedly was William de Grame's successor at Grantham,⁶⁴ seems to be a duplication of his brother Rabel, who had assumed custody of the de Tancarville estates in Normandy when his father emigrated to England (Fig. 2.2).⁶⁵ The name Rabel occurs several times among the early de Tancarvilles, inviting confusion.⁶⁶

In view of the de Tancarville family's role as the hereditary source of chamberlains for the Dukes of Normandy,⁶⁷ Chambellan (Fr. "chamberlain") seems to have been used as an alternative or additional surname.⁶⁸ For example, "Rodulf the Chamberlain," who seems to have been part of the Norman Conquest, is thought to have been a de Tancarville,⁶⁹ and is probably identical with the person inscribed on the Falaise Roll as "Le Chamberlain de Tancarville."⁷⁰ The English branch of the de Tancarvilles, who remained associated with Grantham, were generally named Chamberlain, in view of the family's original function.⁷¹ The banner of these Chamberlains bore three escallops Or, which – as we know – also feature strongly in Graham heraldry (Fig. 1.1, 1.7 & 1.8) (Chapters 1 & 12).⁷² Burke's *General Armory* confirms that de Tancarville descendants in England did adopt the surname Chamberlayne and that their arms were "gules a fesse engrailed argent between three escallops or,"⁷³ with those in Lincoln bearing the fesse engrailed argent (Fig. 2.4).⁷⁴

There are substantial problems with the proposal described in this section. For example, at least some of the actions attributed to William de Grame (such as fighting at the Battles of Brémule and Bourgetesraude/Bourgheroulde)⁷⁵ seem to have been appropriated

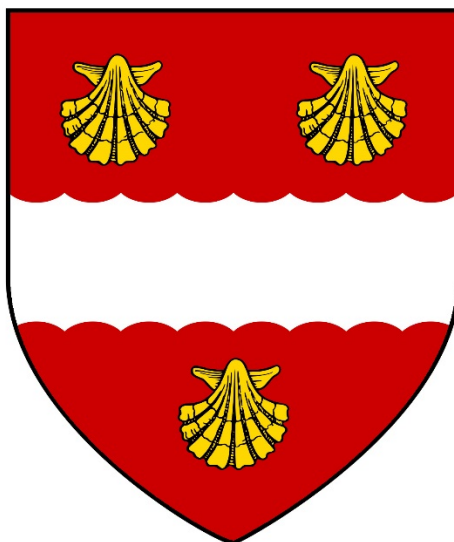


Fig. 2.4 Arms of Chamberlain (Chamberlayne) of Lincoln, blazoned as "gules a fesse engrailed argent between three escallops or."⁷⁶

from Guillaume (I) de Tancarville (*ca.* 1075-1129),⁷⁷ a close adviser to Henry I of England whose father Raoul took part in the 1066 conquest of England⁷⁸ – perhaps the “Rodulf the Chamberlain” mentioned above.⁷⁹ Moreover, Odo(n) de Stigand’s sister Avise/Agnes appears in de Tancarville records not as the wife of William de Grame but, two generations earlier, as the mother of Guillaume (I) de Tancarville.⁸⁰ On the basis of his name and dates alone, one might reasonably expect this Guillaume (I) de Tancarville to have been none other than William de Grame’s father, our William de Tancarville. Indeed, one variant of the de Grame genealogy gives William de Tancarville’s father not as Gerold but as Ralph,⁸¹ which matches the name of Guillaume (I) de Tancarville’s father, Raoul.⁸² Another variant gives Matilda (King Alfred’s descendant) as Matilda d’Arques, and has her appear two generations later than in Fig. 2.2 as the wife of William de Tancarville⁸³ – an outcome again consistent with the record for Guillaume (I) de Tancarville,⁸⁴ whose wife Mathilde d’Arques was the heiress of a powerful family.⁸⁵ Consistent with the de Grame notion that William de Tancarville’s son Rabel inherited his father’s estates in Normandy, Guillaume’s offspring do include a Rabel as his eldest son.⁸⁶ A major problem with the increasingly inevitable identification of William with Guillaume, however, is that Guillaume’s children do not seem to include a William junior, or indeed any son or grandson associated with Scotland.⁸⁷

To the uninitiated, the bold statement that “The Falaise Roll (a list of those who assisted William the Conqueror) says, ‘William de Chamberlain de Tancarville, had a son, William (de Grantham) de Graham, from whom descended the Famous Marquis of Montrose, the Viscounts of Dundee and the Graham family’”⁸⁸ appears to establish beyond doubt a Norman origin for the Grahams. However, the Falaise Roll is not a medieval document but a bronze plaque erected by the French government in 1931. It is a simple list of 315 people thought to have accompanied William the Conqueror at the Battle of Hastings in 1066, one of eight such lists compiled from a variety of medieval sources.⁸⁹ It is not an ancient witness, nor is there any scope for it to contain the pronouncement of Graham origins that has been attributed to it.

Overall, then, we can say for this group that there appears to be considerable confusion in its de Grame genealogy (Fig. 2.2) when this is compared with data from independent sources for the de Tancarville family. The most alarming discrepancy would have to be the absence from the de Tancarville records of a person who can be identified with/as William de Grame, the historical ancestor of the Grahams.

Group 3B. *William de Grame had Flemish origins – Compte de Hesdin*

Some estimates suggest that up to a third of the current Scottish population may have Flemish ancestors.⁹⁰ It is known that the earliest Flemish settlers in Britain came with William the Conqueror’s army in 1066. Subsequently, when David Canmore became King David I of Scotland in 1124, his wife Maud – a woman of Flemish stock – brought a large retinue of Flemish kinsmen north with her.⁹¹

The main theory that attributes a Flemish origin to the Grahams proposes that William de Grame came to Scotland from Grantham in Lincolnshire “bearing the escallops of Hesdin, and there can be no doubt that he was the younger son of Arnulf de Hesdin.”⁹² We are told that “Arnulf was of a Flemish noble family with an incredible pedigree and many lines of descent from Charlemagne.”⁹³ So what, we may ask, connects the Grahams to this scion of Charlemagne? “The proof of the identity of William de Graham and his father rests principally on the Flemish Heraldry [...] The de Hesdin family heraldic devices were – ‘Azure, three escallops or’ i.e. a blue background and three gold escallops – the Arms of the Comte de Hesdin.”⁹⁴

There are several problems with this proposal. First, an independent check of Ernulf de Hesdin’s descendants (Fig. 2.5) exposes a degree of confusion but fails to realise anyone who might convincingly be identified with William de Grame.⁹⁵ Ernulf de Hesdin was born in 1038 in Hesdin in the Picardy/Artois region of Flanders, historically part of the southern Netherlands but now part of the Hauts-de-France region of France.⁹⁶ He married Emmeline de Normandy *ca.* 1055 and died on the First Crusade in 1097/8 at the siege of Antioch.⁹⁷ He is listed in the *Domesday Book* as tenant-in-chief in ten English counties.⁹⁸ His daughter Avelina married Alan son of Flaald (Alan fitz Flaad, d. *c.* 1114) and gave him three sons: Jordan, who inherited the estates in Brittany; William, from whom are descended the Fitzalan earls of Arundel; and Walter (d. 1177), who became steward to David I of Scotland after 1136 and from whom are descended the Stewart kings of Scotland.⁹⁹ Ernulf de Hesdin’s other children included Ernulf junior and Matilda.¹⁰⁰ There is also, *ca.* 1094-1100, definite record of a son named William, at that time seemingly in England;¹⁰¹ he reappears – seemingly in Burgundy – in 1125 as the charter witness Willelmi Hesdinol,¹⁰² but of his life and deeds nothing seems to be recorded. We do not know which of Ernulf’s wives bore him (Fig. 2.5), as he is absent from published studies of Ernulf’s descendants, and nothing concrete links this William to Scotland. One

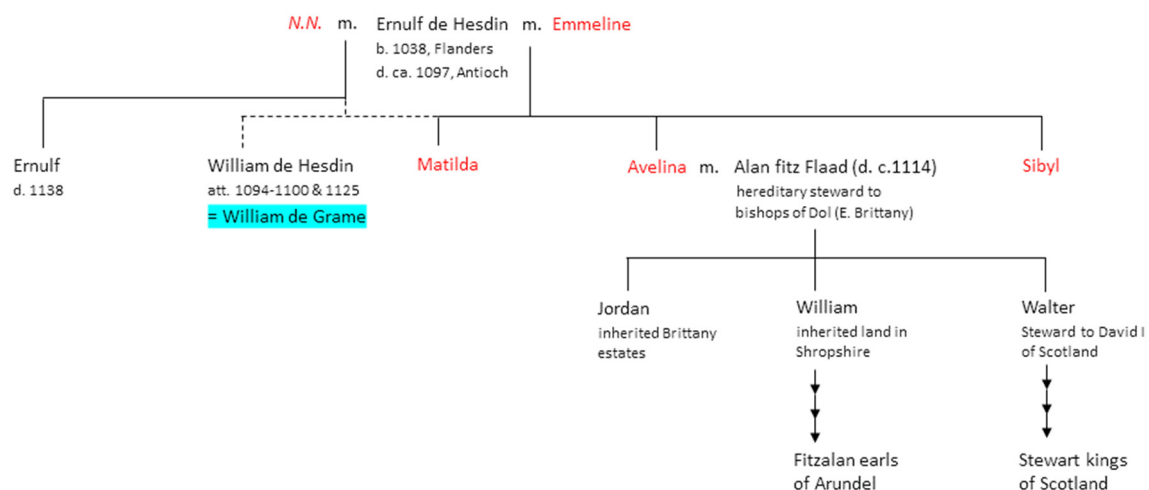


Fig. 2.5 Genealogy according to the origin theory from Group 3B: William de Grame had Flemish origins. Colour conventions are as for Fig. 2.1.

of the many amateur online genealogies lists him as “William DeGraegham,”¹⁰³ but no corroborating evidence for the identification is presented.

The primary hypothesis of Flemish origins is advanced in a book by Beryl Platts that provides no references or indication of its sources,¹⁰⁴ thereby precluding any scrutiny of the underpinning data. Even if genuine, the heraldic similarity – the three golden scallops that are allegedly common to the arms of de Hesdin and Graham – would not necessarily indicate any connection between the two families. More concerning, I have been unable to find any record of de Hesdin arms that involves three escallops Or. Rather, the consensus is that they were (and are) per pale Argent and Gules, two stars in chief each of the other colour (Fig. 2.6),¹⁰⁵ with the original town of Vieil Hesdin (destroyed in 1553) differing only insofar as it used gold in place of silver.¹⁰⁶ The problem is compounded by the fact that the exact coat of arms attributed to de Hesdin is actually associated with descendants of William Malet (d. *ca.* 1071), an Anglo-Norman companion of William the Conqueror;¹⁰⁷ numerous heraldic reference books for the peerage repeat the blazon “Azure, three escallops, or – *Malet*” (Fig. 2.7).¹⁰⁸ Platts recognizes this reality, and explains it by asserting that at the end of the 12th century, the de Hesdin lands became French, whereupon “the counts and their arms disappeared as such, the latter being taken by Sir Baldwin Malet of Enmore, Somerset, who had kinship

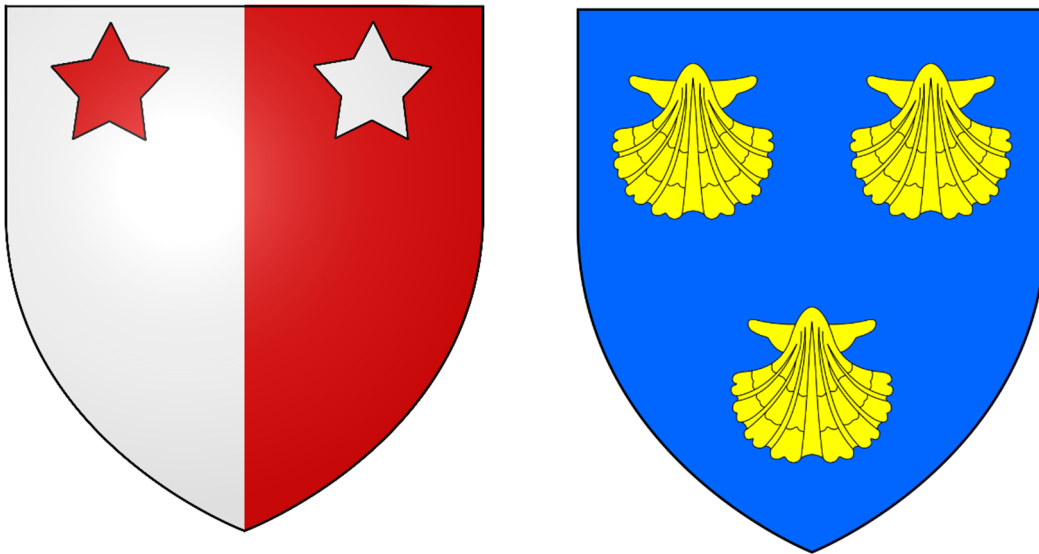


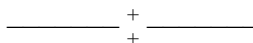
Fig. 2.6 (left) Arms of de Hesdin, blazoned in French as “*partie d’argent et de gueule à deux étoiles en raies en chef l’une de l’autre.*”¹⁰⁹ Image by Chatsam, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.¹¹⁰

Fig. 2.7 (right) Arms of Malet, blazoned as “*azure, three escallops, or.*”¹¹¹ Image by Lobster-thermidor, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.¹¹²

with both Hesdin and Ghent.” The upshot is that “the Malets certainly bore the escallops of Hesdin from the start of the 13th century.” Although their origins lie in Normandy, I can discern no connection in other prosopographies between the Malets of Somerset (or indeed any other Malets in Britain) and the de Hesdin family.¹¹³ In the 12th century, however, a Malet seems to have married a woman from the de Tancarville family, some of whose members we met in Group 3A.¹¹⁴

The quality of Platts’ heraldic research can be given a spot audit by comparing her assertions about the early arms of the Graham family with what we know from Chapter 1. Her claim is as follows: “The earliest known armorial cadet of Graham was John, a younger son of Sir David Graham of Old Montrose and Dundaff, and John’s bearing, which he passed down to Graham of Morphie about 1350, was three escallop shells, differenced by a chevron, in the black and silver tinctures of Alost” (Fig. 1.9a). By Alost, Platts means a Ghent family whose putative connection with the Grahams is that it may have furnished Ernulf de Hesdin with one of his wives some 250 years earlier.¹¹⁵ But we can see from Figs. 1.1 & 1.7 that arms of Sir John of Morphie (*floruit* 1370) are far from the earliest known for members of the family, and that the Argent tincture and chevron charge are in fact to difference his arms from the “or, on a chief sable three escallops or” of his elder brother (Fig. 1.8),¹¹⁶ and that the golden scallops on a black chief actually date back to the 13th century with John’s great-grandfather, Sir Patrick (Fig. 1.5c).¹¹⁷ The arms borne by Sir Henry at the Siege of Caerlaverock in 1300 are also well known (Figs. 1.1 & 3.5), although seemingly overlooked by Platts.

Some flimsy arguments have been advanced by others in attempts to support the primary hypothesis of descent from the de Hesdins.¹¹⁸ One is that the Scottish Grahams and Stewarts called each other “cousins” from their early presence in Scotland because their founders – William and Avelina – were siblings. Another is that William must have been one of the Flemish kinsmen who went to Scotland with Maud, the wife of David I. A third is that William, after his father’s death on crusade, would have gravitated toward his distant relatives from the de Ghent family of Alost, “some of whom had settled at the Manor of Folkingham near Grantham.” The entirely plausible equivalence of Grantham with Graham/Grame, as encountered above in Group 3A, is then invoked to explain William’s later toponymic suffix.



Breaking the deadlock: Insights from genetic genealogy

Genetic genealogy uses DNA sequence analysis to understand kinship patterns and family trees. Such genetic studies can operate on a scale (population size) and depth (timeline) not easily handled by conventional genealogy. For surname projects, the obvious genetic handle is the Y-chromosome, since this – like a surname – is passed from father to son down the generations. There is variation among Y-chromosome

sequences in the human population, with the make-up of each man's Y-chromosome (his Y-haplotype) reflecting his deep paternal ancestry. Y-haplotypes can be sorted into major groups called Y-haplogroups, which reflect prehistoric populations and their migration patterns; individuals who share a common male ancestor within the last few thousand years invariably belong to the same Y-haplogroup.¹¹⁹

Y-chromosome studies have revealed that most of the important Scottish family names exhibit a common pattern: (A) one large related family at its core, augmented by (B) a number of other unrelated lines that carry the same surname.¹²⁰ Family Tree DNA is the main host of genetics-based surname studies. In its Graham Surname DNA Project, the most populous set of closely-related Scottish Grahams (the "A-group") belong to Y-chromosomal haplogroup J1; they are further defined by a marker called M267, and – within that – by a further marker called L1253. This sub-clade of J1 is extremely rare on the world scene, but is common among Grahams.¹²¹ Over time, the naming convention has changed as more precise sub-group information has emerged, so the Graham Y-haplogroup/Y-haplotype may be referred to as J, J1, J-M267, J-L1253, etc. This is somewhat confusing. The important thing to remember is that all L1253 individuals are M267, and all M267 individuals are J1, and all J1 individuals are J. For consistency and clarity, in this book I will refer to the Y-haplogroup simply as J1 unless further precision is essential. Similarly, an individual's sub-haplogroup or haplotype will for simplicity just be referred to as his haplogroup unless there is good reason to resort to more specialised terminology.

The other important observation from the Graham Surname DNA Project is that the largest Y-haplogroup among Grahams in general is in fact not J1 but R1b. However, there is no sign of extensive inter-relationship among R1b Grahams; on the contrary, this group seems to consist of at least 27 unrelated small families, plus numerous unrelated individuals.¹²² Many of the ancient names in Scotland are characterised by R1b, as it is a haplogroup indigenous to western Europe and Britain. From this, it is evident that the R1b Grahams form the majority of the "B-group" for this surname. This "B1 group" consists of disparate families native to the British Isles who adopted the Graham surname, but who are genetically unrelated to the J1 Grahams.

The Graham Surname DNA Project contains far more J1 individuals than any other surname project.¹²³ This haplogroup is very uncommon in Britain or even in western Europe, so it made sense to propose that the founder of this population was William de Grame, the first historical Graham. This provisional conclusion was advanced by the Graham Surname DNA Project in December 2010.¹²⁴ Accordingly, until at least July 2018, the Project's results were summarised as follows:¹²⁵

By far the largest single family group in our Graham DNA Project has been tested as J1 [...] They match each other closely and we believe that they all descend from the single ancestor who founded the Ancient Graham family in Scotland in the early 1100s. [...] Their most recent common ancestor has been estimated to live 700-950 years ago. This is in accord with the history of the Noble House of Graham in Scotland, as the first recorded member was William de Graham (c1080-1127). [...] A Fluxus diagram of the Graham J1 subgroup suggests that the family split in two quite early in the piece,

and this also agrees with the historical record, as there have been two main lines of Grahams in Scotland from about 1400 onward [i.e., Montrose & Menteith]. [...] Unfortunately we do not yet have Y-DNA test results from any declared members of the Ancient Graham family, so that this theory cannot be regarded as proved. However we can think of no other explanation for the existence of this DNA family, as the Grahams have always been a numerous and influential group within Scotland, and the pattern of one large related family, plus a number of other unrelated lines which carry the same surname, is common to most of the important Scottish family names that have been studied to date.

That William de Grame was of Y-haplogroup J1 remained my working hypothesis until mid-2018.¹²⁶ By August 2018, however, hints were emerging that a third group of Grahams, much less populous than either the J1 or R1b groups, seemed to have the strongest links with the houses of Montrose and Menteith and with their traditional lands in Montrose and Kincardineshire. These Grahams, who we can designate as the “B2 group,” are of Y-chromosomal haplogroup I1. Most of these Grahams are I-M253. As with the J1 haplogroup, the nomenclature can get confusing, but the key thing to remember is that all I-M253 individuals are I1. For consistency and clarity, in this book I will refer to this Y sub-haplogroup simply as haplogroup I1 unless further precision is essential.

The evidence connecting the “noble line” with this haplogroup is that the earliest known ancestors claimed by several of the testers who comprise the I1 (Type 2) sub-group in the Graham Surname DNA Project have a documented pedigree to the Grahams of Montrose or its cadet houses. For example, one tester¹²⁷ claims to be descended from “Archibald Graham, b. 1755 Aberfoyle Perthshire.” This Archibald is easy to identify in the Clan Macfarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy,¹²⁸ a website that allows one to track parentage back through numerous generations. If its data are correct, then this Archibald has a documented lineage reaching back to Malise, 1st Earl of Menteith, and thence to Sir David Graham of Kincardine and Old Montrose, and ultimately to William de Grame himself (Fig. 1.1). Another I1 (Type 2) tester is descended from Rev. John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut, who in turn claimed ancestry from the Grahams of Montrose.¹²⁹ Yet another I1 (Type 2) tester can trace his ancestry to “within 3 miles” of the Archibald Graham from Aberfoyle – the heartland of the Menteith Grahams, later acquired by the Duke of Montrose – and his line is reputed to come from the latter house.¹³⁰

Another I1 tester,¹³¹ this time in the “Haplogroup I1 – Unassigned” sub-group, claims descent from an Alexander Graham b. 1743 in Scotland, and an individual of this name and birth year is listed in David L. Graham’s book, *Grahams o’ the Mearns*.¹³² David writes that Alexander, his father and grandfather were “all born in St. Cyrus, Kincardineshire, just a few miles north of Montrose [...] it appears that our Graham lineage can be traced back to this area of Scotland.”¹³³ Another tester in that sub-group¹³⁴ claims as his ancestor Hugh Graham (b. 16 Oct, 1736), an individual born in Midlothian, near Edinburgh¹³⁵ – within which district is situated Dalkeith, the ancestral seat of the “elder line” descended from William de Grame’s son Peter (Fig. 1.1).

Other testers in the Graham Surname DNA Project of haplogroup I1 also trace their ancestry to the east of Scotland.¹³⁶ Overall, the database gives the impression that

Grahams of this haplogroup primarily derive from the east coast, with some having specific links to the families or ancestral seats of the “noble” Grahams, whereas the J1 Grahams derive from the south-west, and in particular the western Anglo-Scottish border.

The apparent connection between the I1 testers and the houses of Montrose and Menteith is qualified by many “ifs,” but it does provide circumstantial evidence for the proposal that William de Grame was of haplogroup I1 (I-M253). It would be most helpful if some Grahams of the current Montrose line, as well as living members of the various cadet houses, would provide samples for Y-DNA testing in the hope of arriving at a more certain conclusion.* In the absence of such data, it seems that I1 represents our best guess at the Y-haplogroup of the “noble” Grahams.¹³⁷ In line with this thinking, the grouping and mark-up of Y-DNA results in the Graham Surname DNA Project underwent important changes in August 2018: the populous J1 (J-M267, J1-L1253) group was now titled “Typical Grahams” rather than “Ancient Grahams,” and the I1 (Type 2) group gained the annotation “These Grahams probably came from Central Scotland, possibly from the Montrose and Menteith lines.” Accordingly, in the present document I will proceed on the basis that William de Grame was of haplogroup I1.

Y-haplogroup I1 is essentially Fenno-Scandinavian. Its diagnostic SNP, M253, is found in some 28-38% of Swedish, Danish, Norwegian and Finnish men. Its epicentre lies within Sweden in Västra Götaland county (52%) and within western Finland in Satakunta province (>50%).¹³⁸ Approximate regional frequencies are shown on the map in Fig. 2.8.

Origin myths revisited

What impact does the genetic genealogy information have on our various origin myths? The beliefs of CAMPS 1 and 2 – that William de Grame was a Pict or the son of a native Scotsman – are clearly untenable; a man drawn from the indigenous population of Scotland (or of the British Isles in general) would necessarily have belonged to Y-haplogroup R1b. The possible presence of Danish women in the bloodline (Group 2B) is of no consequence, since the Y-chromosome is passed directly from father to son, nor would the birth of the ancestral Gryme or Graym to a Scot in Denmark have had any impact on his DNA. However, if William did belong to the Scandinavian haplogroup I1, it is interesting to see a Danish dimension feature prominently in this origin myth. In fact, one minor Group 2B variant, which probably dates only to the mid-19th century, goes so far as to insinuate that the ancestral Graym (Graeme), father-in-law of King Fergus, was the second son of King Gram (Graam) of Denmark, Hadingus (Hadding).¹³⁹ Hadingus was the paternal grandson of the legendary King Scioldus (Skjöldr) of Denmark, who appears in the opening lines of *Beowulf* as “Scyld the Scefing.”¹⁴⁰ Were he real, Hadingus would be an excellent candidate for I1 Y-DNA. The conventional biography for Hadingus – composed in the 12-13th century by Saxo Grammaticus – has him engage in many fantastic adventures and military exploits, some after he succeeded Swipdag

* Note added Jan 2022: This has now occurred, and the book's prediction (p.31-34) that the Y-haplogroup of the "noble Grahams" would be I1 (I-M253) Type 2 has been confirmed (FT-DNA kit IN108665, for Alex Graeme of Inchbrakie). Other than to add this note, the book's text on the matter remains unaltered.

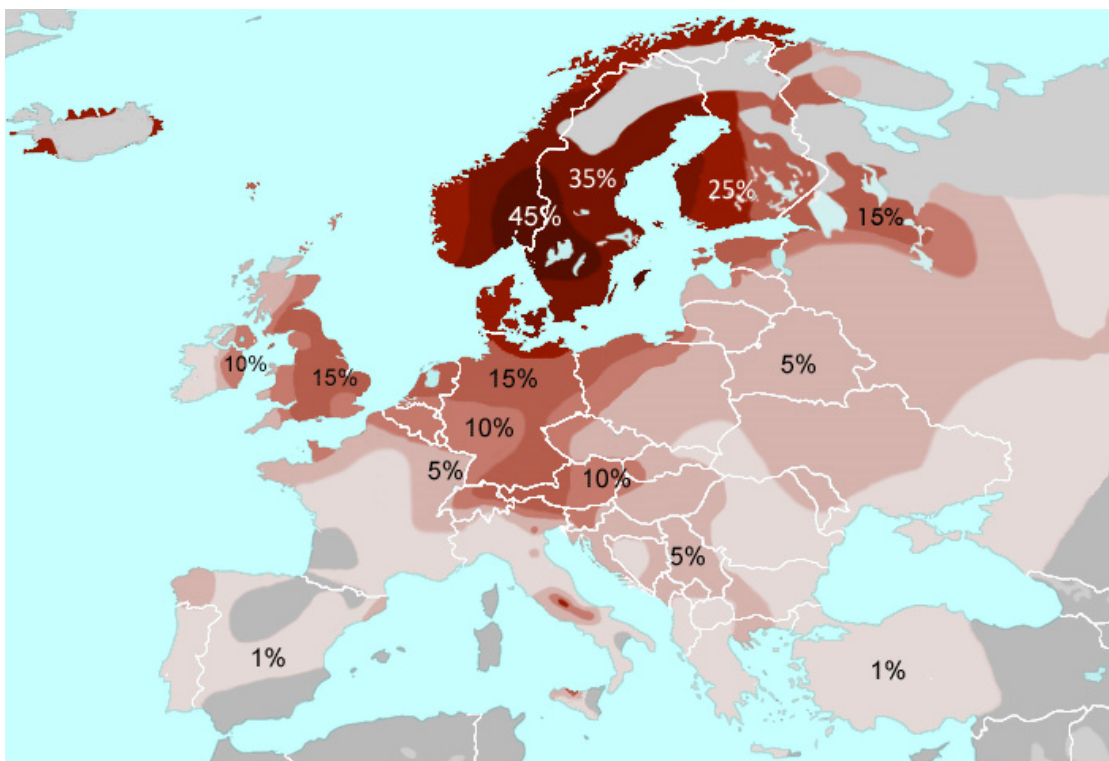


Fig. 2.8 Distribution map of Y-Haplogroup I1 in Eurasia. Adapted and redrawn from Eupedia; light grey indicates sparsely populated areas.¹⁴¹

(Svipdagr) as king of Denmark.¹⁴² Unfortunately, none of his adventures involved a visit to Scotland, and their folkloric quality remind us that this hero-king belongs to myth rather than history.¹⁴³

To complete the assessment of CAMPS 1 and 2, let us return to the observation that an indigenous Briton would have belonged to Y-haplogroup R1b. R1b is certainly the largest haplogroup among the Grahams, but (as mentioned above) its members come from at least 27 different small families which are not related, augmented by many other equally unrelated individuals.¹⁴⁴ It is clear that these R1b Grahams are descended from disparate families native to the British Isles who adopted the Graham surname, rather than from the founder of the “noble” Graham line in Scotland. Those indigenous families no doubt include some of Celtic/Pictish origin, but that is irrelevant to the identity of William de Grame and his descendants.

The origin myths of CAMP 3, which posit Norman or Flemish paternal origins for William de Grame, fare much better. There is currently a significant frequency of I1 males in France (9-17%) and the Netherlands (14%).¹⁴⁵ With respect to Flanders, at least 31 of the 263 testers in the Scotland-Flemish DNA Project at Family Tree DNA (12%) are of haplogroup I1-M253.¹⁴⁶ No information is available on the Y-haplogroup(s) associated with the Flemish surname de Hesdin, but the Malet/Mallett family – their

Anglo-Norman “kin” who supposedly inherited the de Hesdin ancestral lands (Group 3B) – has a good representation of haplogroup I1: at least 13 of the 58 testers in the Mallett Surname Project at Family Tree DNA (22%) are of haplogroup I1-M253.¹⁴⁷

The frequency of Y-haplogroup I1 in Low Normandy – the western half of Normandy – is 12%,¹⁴⁸ and one might expect a higher frequency in the eastern half due to its greater proximity to Scandinavia. Indeed, since the Normans were an ethnic group that arose in the 10th century from intermarriage between Norse Viking settlers in northern France and the indigenous Franks, one would expect a very high representation of Y-haplogroup I1 in their gene pool. On these grounds alone, Group 3A – which posits Norman paternal ancestry for William de Grame – must be a clear favourite among the origin theories. The Anglo-Saxon maternal contribution via Matilda, the notional descendant of King Alfred the Great (Fig. 2.2), is not relevant to any consideration of Y-DNA, but it does extend the Scandinavian dimension of this origin story; the Angles were a Baltic people from what is now Denmark, and the Saxons were their neighbours from the northern coast of what is now Germany. No specific information is available on the Y-haplogroup(s) associated with the Norman surname de Tancarville, which is unfortunate since – in this origin story – William de Tancarville is believed to have been William de Grame’s father (Fig. 2.2). For the de Tancarville’s supposed alternative surname of Chamberlain, most individuals are of haplogroup R1b-M269, but 6 of 181 testers (3%) in the Chamberlain Surname Project at Family Tree DNA belong to haplogroup I1-M253.¹⁴⁹

Overall, we can say that none of the specific genealogies advanced by the various origin stories are credible in terms of detail, but that a Norman paternal origin for William de Grame (to which the story in Group 3A conforms) is most compatible with this individual’s presumed Y-haplogroup, namely I1-M253. Indeed, all of the CAMP 3 options – whether they insist on a Norman or Flemish origin – are potentially compatible with this haplogroup. And while the CAMP 1 and 2 stories insist on Celtic/Pictish paternity for the family’s founder, Group 2B points to Denmark as his birthplace and assigns him a Danish mother and Danish wife, and sometimes even a Danish father. Indeed, whenever the origin myths look outside of Scotland for a foreign ancestor, it is usually to Scandinavia (e.g., Denmark) and to people of Scandinavian heritage (e.g. the Normans) that they turn. If William de Grame was indeed of Y-haplogroup I1, then – at a broad-brush level – the family lore is not far off the mark. And later, in Chapter 8, we will discover that the CAMP 2 legend may also preserve a kernel of truth, for the founders of the J1 branch of House Graham – the “Typical Grahams” of the Graham Surname Project – may well have had dealings with the Antonine Wall.



Early knights: Three 13-14th century champions lauded in verse

This chapter focuses on three knights, one from the Graham “elder line” (Fig. 1.1), namely Henry de Graham (att. 1300), and two from the “younger line” (Fig. 1.1), namely John Graham of Dundaff (d. 1298) and John Graham, Earl of Menteith (d. 1347). All three received praise in the form of poetry for their gallantry and bravery.

From the Ragman Roll signatures in 1291 (Fig 1.1, light blue discs), it seems that the younger line of Grahams had largely pledged allegiance to Edward I of England, who at that stage had not yet begun his oppression of Scotland. In 1296, after Edward’s denigration of Scotland had begun, the three key members of the elder line – Nicholas de Graham of Dalkeith and his two brothers, Pieres and Henry of Dumfries¹ – also pledged allegiance to the English king (Fig 1.1, dark blue discs). By this stage, however, the younger line had already broken faith with England and had commenced the fight against Edward I: Patrick of Dundaff and his son David had fought against Edward at Dunbar (1296), while John of Dundaff fought with William Wallace against Edward at Falkirk (1298) (Fig. 1.1, yellow highlight). In contrast, Henry of Dumfries fought for Edward at the Siege of Caerlaverock (1300) (Fig. 1.1, blue highlight). But it seems that the elder line’s support for English rule did not survive Henry’s generation, for we know that Henry’s nephew – John of Dalkeith & Eskdale – fought against Edward II at the Battle of Bannockburn (1314) (Fig. 1.1, yellow highlight). This John was a signatory to the Declaration of Arbroath, the Scottish Declaration of Independence issued in 1320, as (unsurprisingly) were several members of the younger line – David, 1st of Montrose, and Patrick of Lovat (Fig. 1.1, pink squares). Of course, it is to this generation of the younger line that Sir John of Dundaff, the companion of William Wallace, belongs as well. Moreover, in the next generation of the younger line, we find John, Earl of Menteith – reputedly a younger son of David, 1st of Montrose – fighting for the Scottish king, David II, during his 1346 invasion of England.

Henry de Graham’s support for England in 1300 was as a knight of Annandale under the Bruce family. It is ironic that this is the very family from which arose Robert the Bruce (1274-1329),² the key champion of Scottish independence against Edward I/II who went on to become King Robert I of Scotland. Robert was helped by David Graham, 1st of Montrose, to whom John of Dundaff was a first cousin. Clearly, this was a time of rapid change and shifting allegiances – with Grahams, and poetry extolling their heroism, evident on both sides of the divide.

Sir Henry de Graham

The remnants of Caerlaverock Castle still stand today, surrounded by a moat; located about 8 miles SE of Dumfries, it is one of the best-preserved 13th-century curtain-walled castles in Britain (Fig. 3.1).³ Its triangular ground-plan (Fig. 3.2) makes it unique.⁴ The main approach (from the north, which leads to the bridge) was protected by the castle's strongest defensive feature – its twin-towered gatehouse and keep (Fig. 3.3).⁵ Caerlaverock Castle was the chief seat of the Maxwells, with whom it has been associated for 400 years.⁶

The siege of Caerlaverock Castle by Edward I – which took place over two days in July 1300 – is commemorated in an eye-witness poem titled *The Siege of Caerlaverock*. Written in an Old French dialect other than Anglo-Norman,⁷ it focuses on the valour and heraldry of the English participants. The original manuscript is lost; the earliest surviving copy of the poem is kept by the British Library as Cotton Manuscript Caligula A. XVIII f.23b-30b.⁸ There are also extant versions of the lost original executed (or at least authenticated) by the herald Richard Glover, and a version textually similar to the Glover editions (but with inferior heraldic illustrations) known as the Hatton-Dugdale Facsimile.⁹ The Glover version in the library of the College of Arms is the basis of the



Fig. 3.1 Caerlaverock Castle from the south-west. Image by Roland Hanbury, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 4.0.¹⁰



Fig. 3.2 Caerlaverock Castle from the air. Image by Simon Ledingham, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 2.0.¹¹



Fig. 3.3 Caerlaverock Castle from the north, facing the main entrance. Image by Orikrin1998, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.¹²

text in the edition published by Nicholas H. Nicolas in 1828, whose notes catalogues variations between this version and the one in the British Library.¹³ Nicolas's edition contains a translation of the poem, as well as a history of the castle and biographies of the persons named in the text. In 1864, an edition of the British Library manuscript was published by Thomas Wright, along with a translation and explanatory notes.¹⁴ In some copies of this book, the heraldic designs were reproduced in colour and gilt.¹⁵

The design of Caerlaverock Castle – as it stands to this day (Figs. 3.1-3.3) – is clear from the text of the poem, which (in translation) describes it thus:¹⁶

It was formed like a shield,
For it had only three sides in circuit,
With a tower at each angle;
But one of them was a double one,
So high, so long, and so large,
That under it was the gate,
With a drawbridge, well made and strong
And a sufficiency of other defences.
It had also good walls, and good ditches,
All filled to the edge with water...

The castle was badly damaged during the siege, and was subsequently “demolished” *ca.* 1312 at the urging of Robert the Bruce to prevent its use by the English. Nevertheless, it seems that it was soon repaired.¹⁷

Our interest in the poem centres upon the person of Henry de Graham, who seems to have already been associated with the Dumfries area,¹⁸ and thus the region in which Caerlaverock Castle is located. Sir Henry is not named in connection with a specific squadron of Edward's army, but rather as a combatant in the actual fighting.¹⁹ Wright's edition of the British Library manuscript describes Henry thus:²⁰

*Henri de Graham unes armes
Avoit vermeilles cumme sanc,
O un sautour e au chief blanc
Où ot trois vermeilles cokilles.*

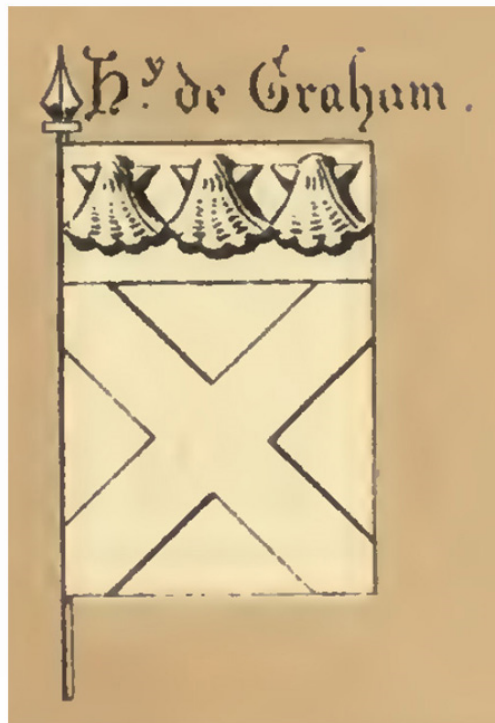
Henry de Graham his arms
Had red as blood
With a white saltire and chief,
On which he had three red escalop shells.

[...]

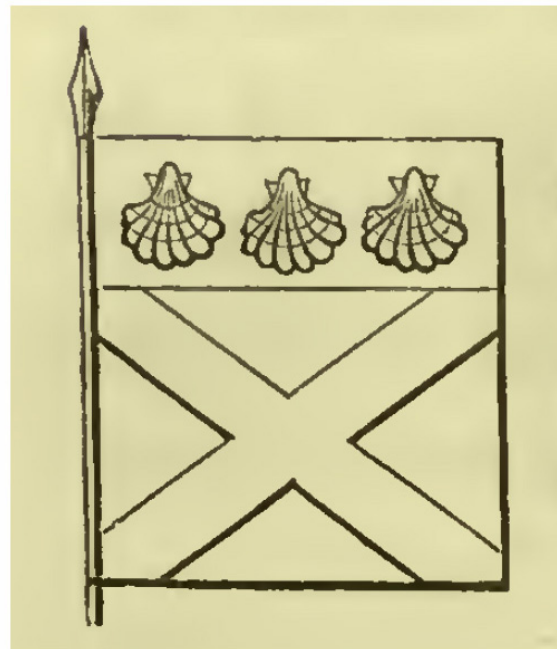
*Cil de Graham ne fu pas quites;
Car ne vaudra deus pomes quites
Kanques entere emportera
D l'escu, kant s'en partira.*

He of Graham did not escape;
For it will not be worth two apples
All that he will carry away entire
Of his shield, when he leaves the battle.

Wright's explanatory footnote reads: “Henry de Graham. Of this name all the information we have is that a Henry de Graham was one of the peers of Scotland who, in 1283, agreed to receive Margaret of Norway for their sovereign. *Arms*, gules, a saltire argent; on a chief of the second, three escallops of the first. These arms show him to be nearly allied to the house of Graham in Scotland.”²¹ Henry's heraldic banner is shown in a figure near the end of the book (Fig. 3.4a).²² The Henry who accepted Margaret of



(a)



(b)

Fig. 3.4 Banner of Sir Henry Graham. (a) As shown in Thomas Wright's 1864 book *The Roll of Caerlaverock*.²³ (b) As shown in Nicholas H. Nicolas's 1828 book, *The Siege of Carlaverock*.²⁴

Norway as sovereign is in fact likely to have been the father of our Caerlaverock knight, Henry de Graham of Dalkeith.²⁵

Nicolas's edition of the Glover version in the library of the College of Arms is very similar, but not identical. The differences are most marked in the translation of the second stanza:²⁶

*Henri de Graham unes armes
Avoit vermoilles come saunc
O une sautour et au chef blaunc
Ou ot trois vermeilles cokilles.*

[...]

*Cil de Graham ne fu pas quites
Car ne vaudra deus promes quites
Qanques entier enportera
Del escu quant sen partira.*

Henry de Graham had his arms
red as blood,
with a white saltire and chief,
on which he had three red escalop shells.

Those led by Graham did not escape,
for there were not above two
who returned unhurt,
or brought back their shields entire.

Sir Henry's heraldic banner is shown adjacent to the first of the two Old French verses

that relate to him (Fig. 3.4b).²⁷ Nicolas's biographical note on Henry contains essentially the same information as that of Wright, adding that "It appears that he evinced much bravery at the siege of the castle."²⁸

In both books, Sir Henry's arms are shown on a heraldic banner, consistent with the fact that "shields are, of course, for those who were below in status to those who could bear banners."²⁹ A modern depiction of a shield bearing his arms is shown in Fig. 3.5. The saltire on the arms – an element without parallel in Graham heraldry – can be explained as follows: "Just as the king enfeoffed knights who, as tenants-in-chief, were considered barons of the real[m], so the great magnates parcelled out (sub-infued) their estates. The Bruce fief of Annandale was held for ten knights," one of which – at that time – was Sir Henry. Moreover, "virtually all Annandale knights and lesser vassals bore arms based on the saltire and chief of Bruce, the tenant-in-chief."³⁰ Henry also seems to have been given a grant of Simundburn – in Northumberland – within his father's lifetime.³¹

Caerlaverock is very near to Dumfries, and Sir Henry de Graham of Dumfries is an example of a noble Graham of the "elder line" associated with the western Anglo-Scottish Border. Bruce McAndrew further connects him to the presumed nucleus of Graham presence in the Western Border by styling him "Sir Henry de Graham of Mackesswra" (Fig. 1.1 & 8.4).³² Several centuries later, Grahams of this region would be both numerous and notorious (Chapter 8) – with most of them identifying as English, just like Henry and his brothers.

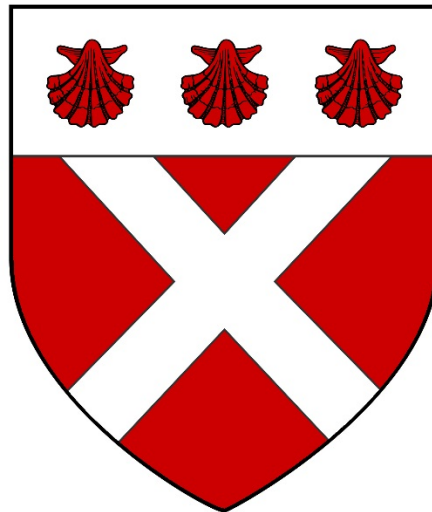


Fig. 3.5 Arms of Sir Henry de Graham: "*gules*, a saltire argent; on a chief of the second, three escallops of the first."³³

Sir John Graham of Dundaff

Sir John of Dundaff was the right-hand man of Sir William Wallace, aiding the Scottish struggle for independence against Edward I of England. His castle was in the Carron Valley, south-west of Stirlingshire;³⁴ a few traces of it remain visible even today (Fig. 3.6). It is supposed that “Wallace [...] often rested at this castle between his arduous campaigns.”³⁵ Sir John fought alongside Wallace at the Battle of Stirling Bridge (1297), in which the English were routed, and died fighting for him at the Battle of Falkirk (1298), in which the Scots were defeated. Sir John’s body is said to have been carried from the battlefield by Wallace himself, who vowed to avenge his death.³⁶

Despite his key role in Wallace’s uprising, Sir John was overlooked in Mel Gibson’s Oscar-winning movie *Braveheart* (1995);³⁷ in the film, the role of Wallace’s boon companion and comrade-in-arms is allocated to Hamish – a character undoubtedly based on Hamish Campbell, another of Wallace’s friends and captains.³⁸ Sir John was most definitely not overlooked in the 15th-century poem by Henry the Minstrel that served as a



Fig. 3.6 Ruins at the site of Sir John of Dundaff’s castle.³⁹ These lime-mortared stone walls are traces of ancillary buildings immediately north-east of the castle proper, i.e., in front of its main entrance. Image by Robert Murray, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 2.0.⁴⁰ The earthworks of the motte and bailey can be seen from the air in drone footage available in an online video.⁴¹ The broad ditch/moat is 11 m wide and up to 3 m deep, while the internal platform (on which the castle proper would have stood) is almost square, with sides of 23 m.⁴²

major inspiration for the movie, *The Actes and Deidis of the Illustre and Vallyeant Campioun Schir William Wallace*.⁴³ This verse epic – often simply called *The Wallace*, just as its author is better known as Blind Harry – is unstinting in its praise for Sir John. We meet first our hero's father, also named John (Fig. 1.1), to whom we are introduced (in late 1296)⁴⁴ in Dundaff as “Schir Jhone the Grayme, quhilk lord wes of that land, Ane agyt knycht” [Sir John the Graham, who was lord of that land, an aged knight] (Book V, line 437-8).⁴⁵ His son – our Sir John – was “bathe wyss, worthi and wicht” [both wise, worthy, and wight (valiant)] (Book V, line 441).⁴⁶ While supporting Wallace in 1297 at Knock Wood and Knock Head, near Lochmaben, Sir John killed the local English commander, Sir John de Graystock.⁴⁷ Later, at the siege of St. Johnston, Wallace and Graham – aided by Ramsay – eventually sacked the town, slaying 2000 inhabitants.⁴⁸ On 11 September, 1297, the Scots lured some of the English army across the narrow wooden bridge that spanned the River Forth at Stirling, then set fire to it and decimated the troops that had already crossed.⁴⁹ Some modern commentators credit this clever strategy to Graham.⁵⁰

The Scottish success was not to last. In Harry's narrative, the Scots suffered some grave losses on 12 June, 1298, in the forest of Blackironside / Blackearnside, near Abernethy, in which Sir John Graham was badly wounded.⁵¹ However, he had recovered sufficiently to take part in the fight at Falkirk on 22 July, 1298. In this battle, Sir John killed an English knight in close combat but was struck by another from behind, the spear entering his body through a gap in the armour at his waist.⁵² Sir John's horse was then staked by English foot-soldiers who were nearby. His friend's mortal wounding drove Wallace into a battle-fury.⁵³ In Scots dialect, Harry relates the sequence of events thus (Book X, lines 373-404):⁵⁴

Graym pressyt in, and straik ane Ingliss knycht,
 Befor the Bruce, apon the basnet brycht.
 That seruall stuff, and all his othir weid,
 Bathe bayn and brayn, the nobill suerd throuch yeid.
 The knycht was dede; gud Graym retornet tyte.
 A suttell knycht tharat had gret despyt,
 Folowyt at wait, and has persawyt weill
 Gramys byrny was to narow sumdeill,
 Be neth the waist, that closs it mycht nocht be.
 On the fyllat full sternly straik that sle,

Persyt the bak, in the bowalys him bar,
 Wyth a scharp sper, that he mycht leiff no mar.
 Graym turnd tharwith, and smate that knycht in teyn,
 Towart the wesar, a litill be neth the eyn.
 Dede off that dynt, to ground he duschyt down.
 Schyr Jhon the Graym swonyt on his arsoun.⁵⁵
 Or he our com, till pass till his party,
 Feill Sotheroun men, that was on fute him by,
 Stekit his horss, that he no forthir yeid;
 Graym yauld to God his gud speryt, and his deid.
 Quhen Wallace saw this knycht to dede was wrocht,

The pytuouss payn so sor thryllyt his thoct,
 All out off kynd at alteryt his curage;
 Hys wyt in wer was than bot a wod rage.
 Hys horss him bur in feild quhar so him lyst;
 For off him selff as than litill he wyst.
 Lik a wyld best that war fra reson rent,
 As wytlace wy in to the ost he went,
 Dingand on hard; quhat Sotheroun he rycht hyt,
 Straucht apon horss agayn mycht neuir syt.
 In to that rage full feill folk he dang down;
 All hym about was reddynt a gret rowm...

Wallace's lament for his fallen friend "forms one of the finest passages in Harry's poem;"⁵⁶ it prompted Louisa G. Graeme to exclaim that "There is not a more touching page in the annals of the Graemes."⁵⁷ The relevant passage begins with Wallace searching for Sir John's corpse among the dead; on finding him, he lifts his body up, kisses his face, and begins the eulogy. Harry's words (Book X, lines 561-586) read:⁵⁸

Amang the ded men sekand the worthiast,
 The corss off Graym, for quham he murned mast.
 Quhen thai him fand, and gud Wallace him saw,
 He lychtyt doun, and hynt him fra thaim aw
 In armyss vp; behaldand his paill face,
 He kyssyt him, and cryt full oft; "Allace!
 "My best brothir in warld that euir I had!
 "My afald freynd quhen I was hardest stad!
 "My hop, my heill, thow was in maist honour!
 "My faith, my help, my strenthiast in stour!
 "In the was wyt, fredom, and hardines;
 "In the was treuth, manheid, and nobilnes;
 "In the was rewill, in the was gouernans;
 "In the was wertu with outyn warians;
 "In the lawté, in the was gret largnas;
 "In the gentrice, in the was stedfastnas.
 "Thow was gret causs off wynnyng off Scotland;
 "Thocht I began, and tuk the wer on hand.
 "I wow to God, that has the warld in wauld,
 "Thi dede sall be to Sotheroun full der sauld.
 "Martyr thow art for Scotlandis rycht and me;
 "I sall the wenge, or ellis tharfor de."

Was na man thar fra wepyng mycht hym rafreyn
 For loss off him, quhen thai hard Wallace pleyn.
 Thai caryit him with worschip and dolour;
 In the Fawkyrk graithit him in sepultour.

Louisa Graeme renders the first half of Wallace's direct speech into more modern poetic English thus:⁵⁹

My dearest brother that I ever had.
My only friend when I was hard bestead;
My hope, my health! O man of honour great.
My faithful aid and strength in every strait!
Thy matchless wisdom cannot here be told,
Thy noble manhood, truth, and courage bold,
Wisely thou knew to rule and to govern;
A bounteous hand, a heart as true as steel,
A steady mind most courteous and genteel.

The second part of Wallace's speech (given above by Harry) continues to extol Sir John's virtues. This is followed by a vow from Wallace that Sir John's death will cost the English dearly, for he swears to avenge him even if it costs his own life. No one could stop Wallace's weeping as the company carried Sir John's body reverently to his sepulchre in Falkirk.

The encomium so moved A.F. Murison in 1900 that he felt compelled to ask: "Is not the lament of Wallace over the dead body of Sir John the Graham on the field of Falkirk the true, as well as the supreme, expression of the profound affection and confidence that united the goodly fellowship of these tried comrades and dauntless men?"⁶⁰ Of course, we should be mindful that Blind Harry's epic poem is a chivalric romance composed some 170 years after Wallace's death,⁶¹ and that it owes as much to folklore and legend as it does to history.⁶² Despite these shortcomings, its importance should not be underestimated. For centuries after its publication, *The Wallace* was the second most popular book in Scotland after the Bible;⁶³ its narrative has therefore greatly influenced the reception and memory of the historical William Wallace and his comrades-in-arms. Its influence continues to the present day; as mentioned above, it served as a major inspiration for the plot of *Braveheart*.

The location of Sir John's demise is preserved in local memory. "The land on the north side of Falkirk, between the railway station and the Forth and Clyde Canal, was known for centuries as Campfield and Graemesmuir, the former in allusion to the battlefield and the latter in tribute to Sir John Graham who fell in the battle. Today this district is known as Grahamstown in his memory. Inevitably, old inhabitants could point to a couple of ancient yew trees on the east side of Graham Street which, according to hallowed tradition, marked the very spot where the good Sir John was slain."⁶⁴ The spot at which Sir John Graham is reputed to have died is now marked by a stone memorial fountain (Fig. 3.7).



Fig. 3.7 Memorial fountain erected “near where Sir John de Graeme fell.” The memorial was installed in 1912 by Bert Dollar, a Falkirk émigré to the U.S. Image by Tom Sargent, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 2.0.⁶⁵

Sir John now lies in the graveyard of Falkirk Trinity Church.⁶⁶ After the second battle of Falkirk in 1746, the Highlanders wished to do special honour to Sir Robert Munro, one of their slain opponents. To this end, it is reported that they opened Sir John’s grave and buried him beside the dust of the hero.⁶⁷ In 1860, an elegant railing was added to enclose the tomb, and a replica of Sir John’s long sword – cast at Falkirk Iron Works – was mounted above it in 1869. The tombstone bears his coat of arms (Fig. 3.8) and – in Latin

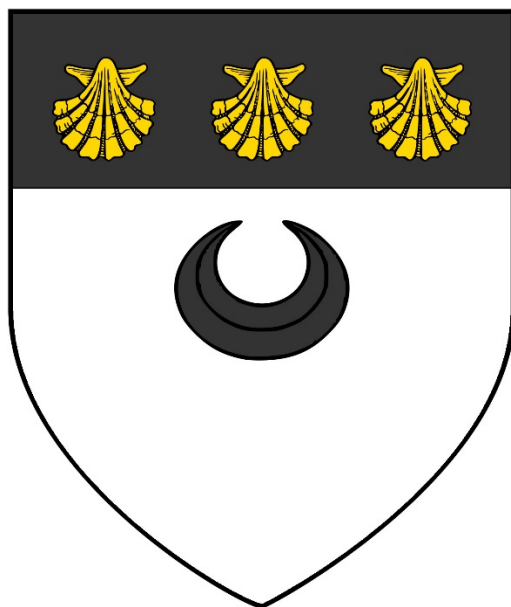


Fig. 3.8 Coat of arms of Sir John Graham of Dundaff. This version is redrawn from the arms attributed to Sir John on the Clan Graham Society website.⁶⁸

– the motto *Vivit post funera virtus* and epitaph *Mente manique potens et Vallae fidus Achates; conditur hic Gramus, bello interfectus ab Anglis, XXII Julii, Anno 1298* (Fig. 3.9).⁶⁹ The inscriptions translate, respectively, as “Virtue outlives death” and “Potent in mind and hand and the faithful Achates of Wallace, Graeme is buried here, slain in war by the English, 22nd July, 1298.”⁷⁰ In Greek mythology, Achates was the loyal confidant and indeed the *alter ego* of Aeneas, such that his name became a byword for an intimate companion and best friend.⁷¹ The epitaph is supposed to have been composed by Wallace himself, reputedly being inscribed on Sir John’s original tombstone with the tip of Wallace’s sword.⁷² The tombstone also bears a second inscription around the edge (Fig. 3.9), which reads:⁷³

HER LYS Sir John the Graeme, both wight and wise,
Ane of the chiefs reskewit Scotland thrise,
Ane better knight not to the world was lent,
Nor was gude Graeme; of truth and hardiment.

The first line clearly draws on Blind Harry’s description of Sir John (given above) as “both wise, worthy, and wight” (Book V, line 441), while the last two lines echo Wallace’s sentiment later in the same poem: “I trow in warld was nocht a bettir knycht, Than was the gud Graym off truth and hardement” (Book X, lines 466-467).⁷⁴

By 2011, Sir John’s tomb had fallen into disrepair and been vandalised – amongst other damage, the sword had been stolen (Fig. 3.9). The entire complex was restored in 2011; a replacement sword was installed and additional security provided (Fig. 3.10).⁷⁵



Fig. 3.9 Tombstone of Sir John of Dundaff at Falkirk Trinity Church prior to the 2011 renovations. The Latin inscription beginning *Vivit...* is above the coat of arms in a circular design, while that beginning *Mente...* is in a square below the arms; see main text for complete inscriptions. The stumps of the two posts that used to hold the replica of Sir John's sword can be seen above and below the coat of arms. Image courtesy of Mike Burnett.⁷⁶

Two extant swords are attributed to Sir John. A short single-handed broadsword is preserved by the Duke of Montrose.⁷⁷ On the hilt are the initials "S.J.G.," presumably for Sir John Graham, and the date 1406.⁷⁸ It reportedly bears an inscription similar to the Scots/English one on Sir John's tombstone:⁷⁹

Sir John the Graeme very wicht and wise,
Ane of the chiefs relievit Scotland thryse,
Fought with ys sword, and ner thout schame,
Commandit nane to beir it bot his name.

Another sword was long in possession of the Grahams of Orchill; at the end of the 18th century, it was presented to the Freemason's Lodge at Auchterarder by its Grand Master at the time, William Graeme of Orchill.⁸⁰ It is a long two-handed weapon, for which Louisa Graeme gives dimensions as follows.⁸¹ The handle or hilt measures 3 ft (91 cm) across, and the length of it is 1 ft 4 in (41 cm);⁸² the blade is 4 ft (121 cm) long, and tapers in width from 2¼ to 1¾ in (5.7 to 4.4 cm). Originally the blade was 9 in (23 cm) longer, but for some reason was cut, so that the full original length of the sword



Fig. 3.10 Tomb complex of Sir John of Dundaff at Falkirk Trinity Church after the 2011 renovations. Detail from a photograph by Euan Nelson, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 2.0.⁸³ The viewer is looking toward the tip of the replica sword, whose hilt can be seen in the distance; a close-up of the sword from the side is available online.⁸⁴

(including the hilt) was 6 ft 1 in (185 cm). She adds that two-handed swords like this were usually borne by the leader's men-at-arms. A photograph of the Lodge's Tyler, taken in 1910, provides a sense of scale for the enormous weapon (Fig. 3.11). It is this sword that was replicated for installation above Sir John's tomb. In 2018, the sword from the Masonic Lodge went on public display at Callendar House in Falkirk for the 720th anniversary of the Battle of Falkirk; it is the centrepiece of a short video placed online by The Society of John De Graeme.⁸⁵ Other images and videos related to Sir John can be viewed on the Society's webpage.⁸⁶ Another site with relevant photographs and videos is the page devoted to Sir John on Alchetron, a free social encyclopedia.⁸⁷

Before we remove ourselves to the mid-14th century to meet our third and final champion for this chapter, it is worth mentioning that – as hinted at in the chapter's introduction – Sir John's uncle, Sir Patrick Graham of Dundaff, was one of the Scottish knights who in 1296 was party to the disastrous attempt to relieve Dunbar Castle, held for King John Balliol against the English by the famous Countess, Black Agnes. Sir Patrick, one of the

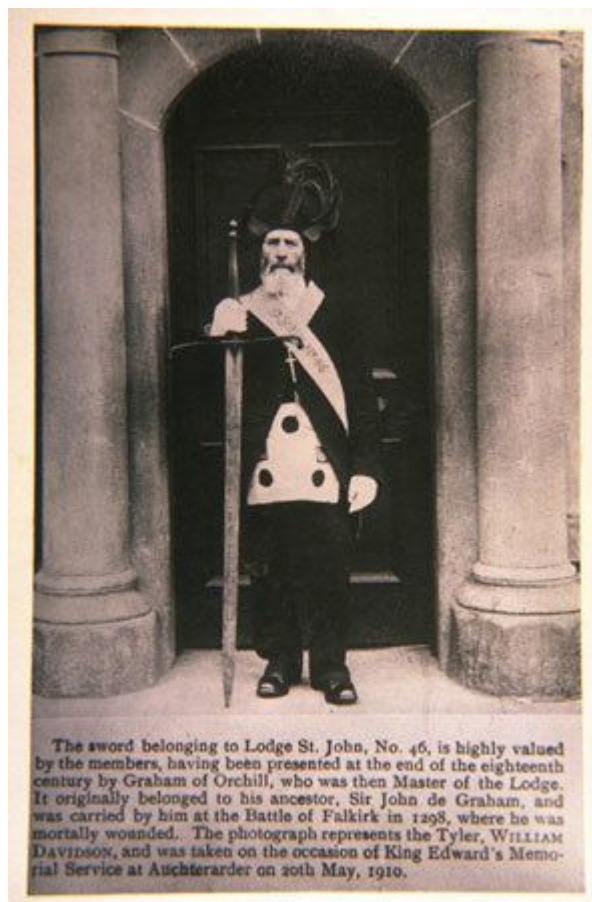


Fig. 3.11 The Tyler of Auchterarder Masonic Lodge in 1910 – William Davidson – holding the two-handed sword believed to have belonged to Sir John of Dundaff. This photograph provides a sense of scale for the weapon.

noblest and wisest of the Scottish barons, was the only Scotsman who did not retreat but instead fought to the death. He fell in such gallant fashion as to extort admiration from the English,⁸⁸ but does not seem to have inspired any poetry. His son, David, who had fought alongside his father at Dunbar, later fought for Robert the Bruce and was rewarded with several grants, but likewise seems not to have been commemorated in verse.

Sir John Graham, Earl of Menteith

In the generation of the younger line after Sir John of Dundaff, we find Sir John Graham, 9th Earl of Menteith – “of uncertain lineage,” but probably a scion of David, 1st of Montrose, and perhaps a younger son of his.⁸⁹ In the first half of the 14th century, Sir John became Earl of Menteith courtesy of his wife Mary, Countess of Menteith (m. 1333, d. 1350-60); he predates Malise, the first Graham to hold the earldom of Menteith in his own right, who was granted the title in 1427 (Chapter 5).⁹⁰ The earldom reverted to the Stewarts when their daughter, Margaret, married (as her fourth husband) Sir Robert Stewart, Duke of Albany.⁹¹ Due to the uncertainty over Sir John’s pedigree, he does not feature in the genealogy of Fig 1.7. His arms – which are those of his wife’s family – are shown in Fig. 3.12.⁹²

In 1346, both John, 9th of Menteith, and David, 2nd of Montrose – Sir John’s older brother, if our putative pedigree is correct – accompanied the Scottish king, David II, on

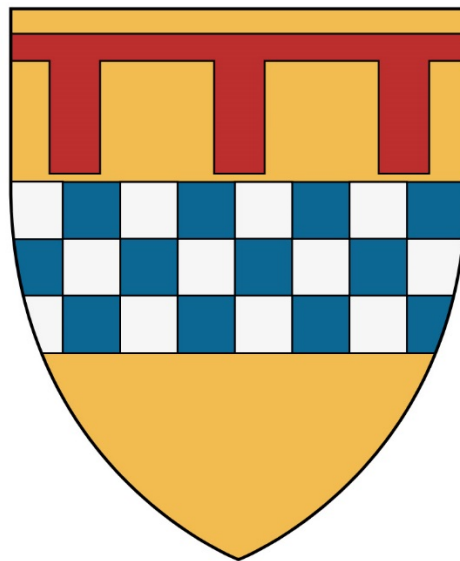


Fig. 3.12 Arms of Sir John Graham, *jure uxoris* 9th Earl of Menteith, as shown in the Balliol Roll (in which he is described as *le conte de menteht*). The arms are those of his wife’s family, the Stewarts: “Or, a fess chequy argent and azure, a label of three points gules in chief.”⁹³ This image of the coat of arms is by NSamson of WappenWiki,⁹⁴ reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-NC-SA 3.0. Compare with the 2nd and 3rd quarters of the later Grahams of Menteith, which (again for Stewart) bear “or, on a fess chequy azure and argent, a chevron gules in chief” (Fig. 1.15).

his invasion of England,⁹⁵ a move which Sir John had opposed.⁹⁶ On 17 October, all three took part in the ill-fated Battle of Neville's Cross in Durham,⁹⁷ and ultimately all three were taken prisoner.⁹⁸

Sir John distinguished himself in the heat of the battle, as follows.⁹⁹ When the English archers – which reportedly numbered 20,000 men¹⁰⁰ – were almost within bowshot, he earnestly urged the king to send a body of cavalry to charge them in flank. In his *Orygynale Cronykil of Scotland* (ca. 1420),¹⁰¹ Andrew of Wyntoun puts it thus:¹⁰²

Than gud Schyre Jhone the Gráme can say	Then good Sir John de Graham can say
To the Kyng, “Gettis me but má,	To the King, “Get me but men,
Ane hundyre on hors wyth me to gá,	One hundred on horse with me to go
And all yhone archerys skayle sall I :	And all yon archers I shall scatter
Swá sall we fecht mare sykkerly.”	So we shall fight more securely.”

A cavalry engagement with the bowmen would have given the king time to complete the disposition of his troops. Unfortunately, Sir John's good advice went unheeded, and the subsequent rain of arrows made the unfinished task very difficult.¹⁰³ When Sir John learned that his proposal to lead a cavalry charge on the archers had been refused, he leaped upon his horse and – alone, or followed only by his own retainers – charged the bowmen in an attempt to halt the advance of the enemy. Being unsupported, his gallant attack was doomed from the outset. His horse was killed under him and he was forced to retire to the main body of Scottish troops. We reprise Wyntoun's poem after Sir John's request to the king for a hundred horsemen to lead against the archers:¹⁰⁴

Thus spak he, bot he mycht get náne.	Thus spoke he, but he might get none.
His hors in hy than has he táne,	His horse in haste he then has taken
And hym alláne amang thame ráde,	And he alone among them rode
And rwdly rowme about hym made.	And rudely room about him made.
Quhen he a qwhille had prekyd thare,	When he for a while had ridden fast there,
And sum off thame had gert sow sare,	And some of them he had wounded so sore
He to the battaylis ráde agayne,	He to the battalions rode back,
Sa fell it thai his hors hes slayne.”	At which time they killed his horse

The upshot was that the English horsemen and footmen were upon the Scots before the latter were ready. After a battle that lasted for three hours, Sir John and Sir David were taken prisoner, along with their king. They were imprisoned in the Tower of London by an order of Edward III dated 8th December, 1346.¹⁰⁵

By 1348, Sir David had returned to Scotland, and was later appointed as one of the commissioners to negotiate the release of King David II.¹⁰⁶ Sir John did not fare so well. By the direct order of Edward III and his Council, dated 22nd February, 1347, he was charged with treason, on the basis that he had breached his oath of fidelity to the English king as well as to Edward Balliol. Along with Duncan, Earl of Fife, he was deemed responsible for the slaughter and destruction caused by the invasion. King Edward and his Council directed that “the Earls should be convicted of being traitors, and as such attainted, drawn, hanged, beheaded and their bodies quartered, their heads placed upon London Bridge, and the quarters of their bodies sent to the four principal towns of the

north [...] to be hung in chains.”¹⁰⁷ However, Duncan of Fife was spared execution on account of his blood relationship to the king, so Sir John bore the capital punishment alone. The sentence was carried out before 6th March, 1347.¹⁰⁸ In *The Red Book of Menteith*, William Fraser sums up Sir John’s death and legacy with aplomb:¹⁰⁹

Thus died Sir John Graham, Earl of Menteith. Condemned as a traitor by a foreign King, he was such a traitor as was Sir William Wallace, who died in the defence of his country’s independence. One of the many Scotchmen who perished in the fatal grasp of the Edwards of England, the bravery displayed by Sir John Graham at the battle of Durham, his consistent and courageous devotion to the cause of his country, and his final martyrdom, embalm his memory in the annals of the Earls of Menteith.

Epilogue: “The History of Sir Eger, Sir Grahame, and Sir Graysteel”

“Best of Scottish romances, best indeed, or among the best of all romances, is the history of Sir Eger, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray-Steele. [...] Sir Gryme, or Sir Grahame, as the only old printed editions unhesitatingly have him, is the principal hero.”¹¹⁰

The oldest surviving printing of the medieval romance known as *Syr Egeir and Syr Gryme* (or, more succinctly, *Egir and Grime*) was made in Glasgow by Robert Sanders in 1669.¹¹¹ The tale seems originally to have been composed in northern England or Scotland in the mid-15th century,¹¹² but the original recension is lost.¹¹³ The story became very popular in 16th-century Scotland. The earliest written version to survive is preserved in the Percy Folio manuscript of ca. 1650 (Brit. Lib. Add. Ms. 27879); the Glasgow printing is longer, and follows the later – and seemingly more Scottish – adaptation of the lost original known as the Laing-Huntington version.¹¹⁴

The story is notionally set in the land of Bealm or Beame – Bohemia – but is essentially a folktale of the “Two Brothers” type centred around an otherworld encounter with Sir Graysteel, a seemingly invincible knight in the forbidden “land of doubt.”¹¹⁵ Winglayne, the beautiful daughter of Earl Bragas, loves Eger because of his prowess in battle. Eger’s sworn companion is one Grime or Grahame;¹¹⁶ of the two men we read:¹¹⁷

These knights, Sir Eger and Sir Grime,
They were fellows good and fine,
They were nothing sib of blood,
But they were sworn brethren good.
They kepted a chamber together att home,
Better love loved there never none.

Problems arise when Eger rides off to challenge Sir Graysteel and is bested by him in single combat, being seriously wounded in the exchange of blows. He reaches a castle, in which he is nursed by a beautiful woman named Loosepain or Lillias, daughter of Earl Gares, whose brother and husband had previously been killed by Sir Graysteel. Upon returning to Beame, Eger confesses his loss in combat to Grahame; his admission is

overheard by Winglayne, causing her to lose interest in him. Grahame, pretending (within his armour) to be Eger, then ventures forth to battle with Sir Graysteel in the hope of restoring his friend's lost honour. On the advice of Grahame's younger brother, he takes with him a famous sword borrowed from the widow of Eger's uncle, Sir Egrame.¹¹⁸ After meeting Loosepain/Lillias, with whom he falls in love, he engages Sir Graysteel in battle and – after a vicious fight – prevails, killing him. He returns victorious to Loosepain/Lillias and wins her hand in marriage, and the rehabilitated Eger wins Winglayne as his bride. Indeed it is weddings all round, for Grahame's younger brother is chosen as husband by the beautiful daughter and heiress of Sir Graysteel.¹¹⁹

The Laing-Huntington version extends the tale and modifies the ending as follows. After Grahame has died, Eger tells his wife the truth about who killed Sir Graysteel, whereupon she abandons him and becomes a nun. Eger joins the Crusade, and on his return marries Lillias, Grahame's widow.

The kernel of the tale, however, is the deep friendship and camaraderie between the two men. John Hales and Frederick Furnivall correctly observe that:¹²⁰

The subject of the piece is the true and tried friendship of Sir Eger and Sir Grime. [...] What Damon and Pythias were to each other, and Pylades and Orestio, that were Eger and Grime. [...] Of such a kind was the fast friendship of Wallace and Graham, the recollection of which perhaps may have induced later Scotch reciters and editors of the story to change Grime's name into Graham. Graham had become to them the ideal representative of the friend that sticks closer than a brother.

The Sir Grahame of the popular chivalrous romance is therefore not entirely divorced from the historical Grahams that we have been considering in this chapter, and probably relates in particular to Sir John of Dundaff. Some place-names in the Scottish version of the poem, whose popularity was at its height in the 16th century, are suggestive of Cumberland and the Anglo-Scottish western Border.¹²¹ As we shall see in Chapter 8, the Western Border of the 16th century was in fact a Graham stronghold, albeit one that was far from chivalrous. If the tale proved especially popular there, some of its toponyms may have been adapted to reflect local geography.

Ballads of Grahams in battle do not die out with the legendary romance of Sir Eger and Sir Grahame. Indeed, some of the most epic martial poetry lies ahead in the 17th century, as we shall see later in the book (Chapter 7).



Nicolas de Giresme, companion of Joan of Arc

Nicolas de Giresme was a knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem¹ who played an important role in helping Joan of Arc raise the siege of Orléans in 1429;² he was the first man to cross a perilous makeshift bridge from the city to the Tournelles, the fortification held by the English on the other side of the river.³ The taking of this key fort (Fig. 4.1) typically forms the main battle scene in the many movies of the life of Joan of Arc.⁴ Nicolas' success was hailed as "a miracle of Our Lord," because he was fully armed and "the gutter [over which he passed] was incredibly long and narrow, and high in the air without any support."⁵ Nicolas is claimed both as "a brave Scotch knight" in command of Scottish troops^{6,7} and as a Knight Hospitaller with roots in northern France,^{8,9} in charge of over 60 soldiers.^{10,11} The reason for this dual identity is that "de Giresme" is the Francophone rendering of de Graham in the relevant annals (Fig. 4.2).¹² In 1862, the French historian Francisque Michel proposed that "Giresme" was the name of a Scots family granted estates by the French crown,¹³ which in turn would suggest Graham ancestry – potentially quite immediate – for Nicolas (Fig. 4.3).

Under the "Auld Alliance" between Scotland and France (1295-1560), thousands of Scots fought beside Joan at Orléans; her Scottish captain, Hugh Kennedy, was a great-great-grandson of Isobel Graham, the stepmother of Robert II of Scotland.^{14,15,16} After the victory at Orléans, Joan was escorted into the city "to the celebratory skirl of the Scottish pipes" by a guard of 130 Scotsmen.¹⁷ Moreover, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem was active in Scotland in that period,¹⁸ so a Scottish Knight Hospitaller was perfectly feasible. It would therefore be no great surprise if Nicolas de Giresme was indeed a Scotsman, or at least a Frenchman with Scottish roots.

Nicolas was in fact the son of Philippe de Giresme, Grand Squire of France from 1399 to 1411,¹⁹ and a nephew of Regnault de Giresme, Prior of France for the Knights Hospitaller from 1388 to 1416.²⁰ Although "First Squire" to the French crown was an appointment held by at least four Scots (including Hugh Kennedy) in the first half of the fifteenth century,²¹ there is no documentary evidence of Scottish ancestry – or, indeed, any ancestry at all – for Philippe de Giresme or his brother Regnault, who seem to have been pillars of the French establishment. At most, Regnault mentions a relative named Marguerite de Roquemont in Valois in northern France,²² which tentatively links the brothers to a French family surnamed de Giresme, whose roots lie in Crépy-en-Valois (Fig. 4.4).^{23,24} The coat-of-arms used by Nicolas' family,²⁵ which reflects their orientation as religious knights, connects them with the de Giresmes of May-en-Multien,²⁶ 20 km from Crépy-en-Valois, who are presumed to be from the Valois stock.²⁷ If the Valois line originated with a Scottish Graham who had earlier settled in Crépy, the



Fig. 4.1 “Joan of Arc at the Assault of the Tournelles,” from *Cassell’s Illustrated History of England* (1865).²⁸

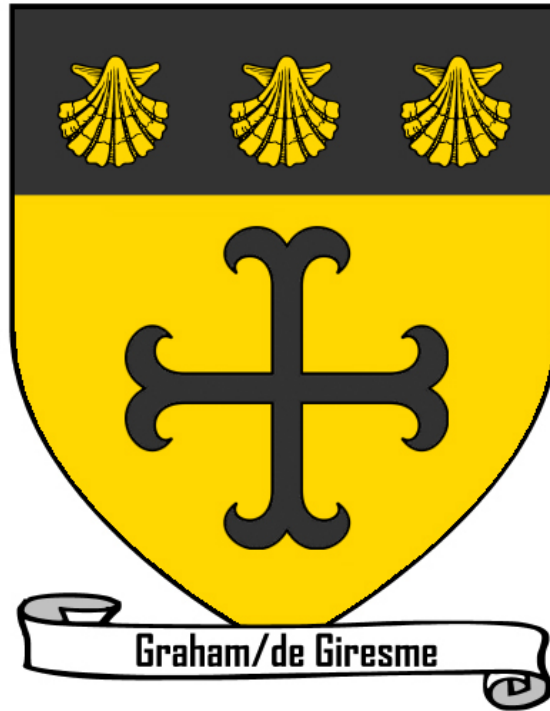


Fig. 4.2 Two families of Or and Sable. To honour the historical entanglement of the Scottish (de) Grahams and French de Giresmes, this ungranted²⁹ coat of arms marshalls (in equal parts) the two families' traditional bearings, which both centre around a shield Or, embellished with a chief or charge Sable.³⁰ The chief with three escallops is from the Graham escutcheon, the central cross Ancree from that of de Giresme (as used in Nicolas' personal seal).³¹

migration would need to have occurred before the middle of the 13th century,³² and – although this is not impossible^{33,34,35} – much simpler alternatives are available.³⁶

In the 15th century, the French and Scottish families are at times easy to confuse (Fig. 4.2); for example, Robert de Giresme and Robert Graham (the latter being the protagonist of Chapter 5) both commenced terms of imprisonment in Britain in 1424.³⁷ Moreover, the Pierre de Giresme who – along with Joan – attended the coronation of the Dauphin³⁸ as Charles VII at Rheims in 1429 was reportedly one of the Scottish lords and captains,³⁹ and not to be confused with Pierre, Nicolas de Giresme's brother,⁴⁰ or Pierre, one of Nicolas' sons.⁴¹ Nor should any of these be misidentified with the Scottish brothers Pieres⁴² and Sir Nicholas de Graham,⁴³ who predate them by some 125 years (Fig. 1.1).

In 1430, Nicolas de Giresme (with Denis de Chailly, probably one of his relatives)⁴⁴ went on to liberate Melun, and in 1432 the two knights also recaptured Provins, where they saw fit to behead several traitors.⁴⁵ Nicolas was captain of the two cities at various times.⁴⁶ Later, Nicolas spent time at his Order's headquarters in Rhodes,⁴⁷ returning to

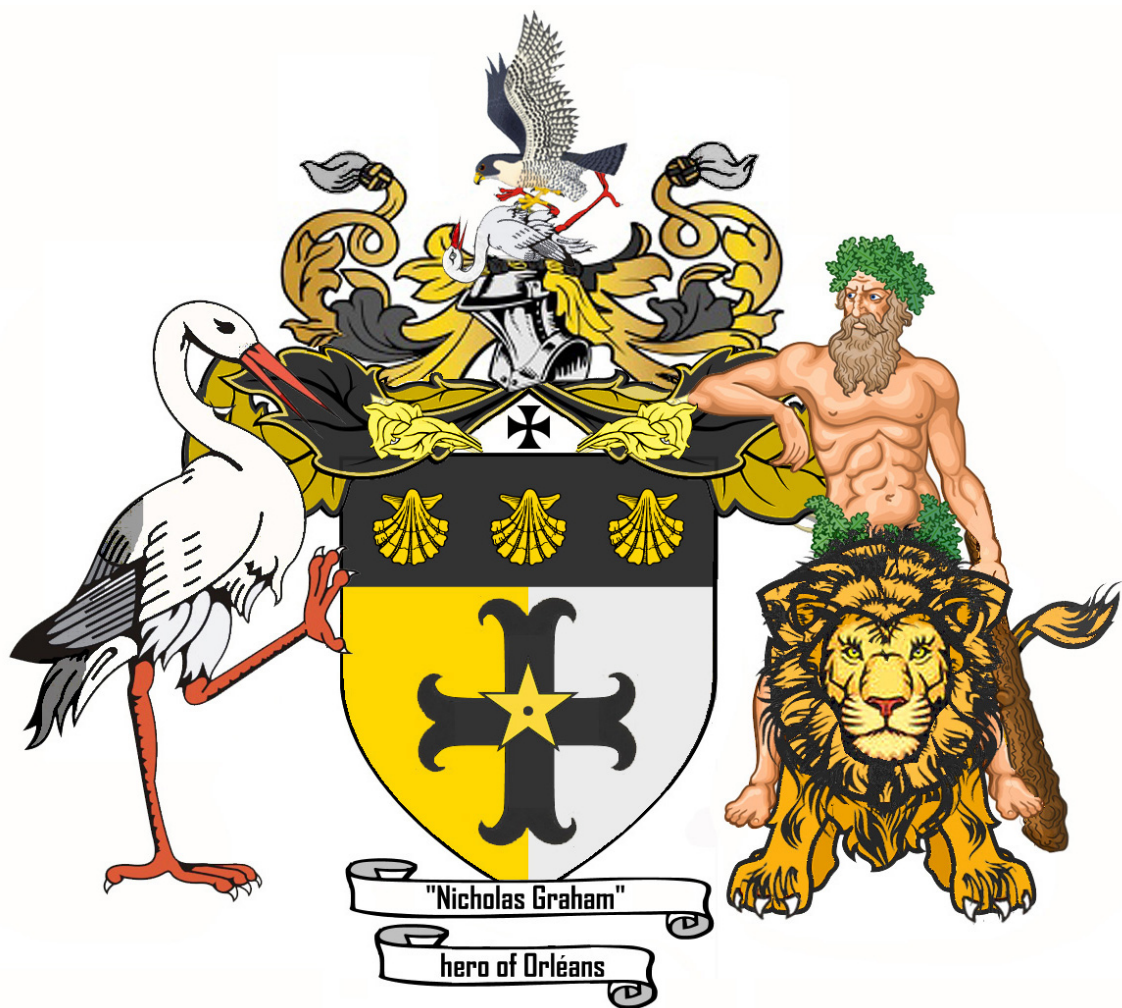


Fig. 4.3 To commemorate William Forbes-Leith's optimistic identification of Nicolas de Giresme as "a brave Scotch knight of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem," a man whom we would call Nicholas Graham, this ungranted⁴⁸ armorial bearing marshalls (in equal parts) the crest, arms and supporters of Lord Graham, Duke/Marquis/Earl of Montrose (left) with those of Nicolas de Giresme, Prior of France for the Knights Hospitaller (right). The escutcheon is as in Fig. 4.2, but this time the cross Ancree is based on a manuscript version of the de Giresme arms⁴⁹ and embellished with a molette Or in the centre, as seen in the escutcheon on Nicolas' tomb.⁵⁰ The small central cross Patee surmounting the shield (above the field) is for Nicolas de Giresme's position in the Knights Hospitaller, and is seen thus in his personal seal,⁵¹ while the crest above the helm is of course the Graham one (a falcon proper, beaked and armed Or, killing a stork Argent, armed Gules). The supporters are, for Lord Graham, a stork proper, beaked and membered Gules;⁵² for Nicolas de Giresme, a wild man *a cheval* on a lion.⁵³ In medieval heraldry, the wild man symbolises fierceness and savagery in battle.⁵⁴

France in 1442. He served as captain of the formidable Château de Coucy (1450-1464) for Charles of Orléans,⁵⁵ and held the post of Prior of France for the Knights Hospitaller from 1447 until his death in 1466 (Fig. 4.5).⁵⁶



Fig. 4.4 The Château de Geresme, which dates from the 16th century, still stands in the Parc de Geresme of Crépy-en-Valois. The photo shows the oldest (eastern) part of the castle, southern façade. Photo by P. Poschadel,⁵⁷ reproduced under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 2.0 FR. See also Fig. 15.1.

At the time when Nicolas was captain of Provins,⁵⁸ another visit is recorded from the Scottish Grahams to the court of Charles VII. In 1436, Patrick, first Lord Graham (Figs. 1.7 & 4.6), was reportedly among the Scottish nobles who accompanied Margaret, the eldest child of James I of Scotland, to France for her wedding to Charles VII's eldest son, Louis.⁵⁹ During the latter's reign as Louis XI (1461-1483), Nicolas de Giresme's son Regnault, lord of Sernon, served the king as advisor and chamberlain.^{60,61}

In sum, although it is very unlikely that Nicolas de Giresme was in fact a Graham, his long-standing misidentification as one reflects the extensive links between the nobility of Scotland and France in the 15th century. Of special interest to us is the fact that Joan of Arc's captain was a Scot of Graham descent, and that Scottish Grahams were present at the French royal court for some of its most important events.



Fig. 4.5 Effigy of Nicolas de Giresme on his tomb in the Temple of Paris (no longer extant).



(a)



(b)

Fig. 4.6 Arms of Patrick, first Lord Graham (d.1466). (a) Drawn as described in the Scots Roll: “Or, on a chief Sable, three escallops Or.”⁶² (b) Arms of “Le Seigneur de Grain” – Lord Graham – as recorded in the Armorial de Berry of *ca.* 1445:⁶³ “Or, a lymphad Gules and in chief three escallops Sable.”⁶⁴ It is unclear whether the ship of the latter blazon recalls Patrick’s visit to France in 1436 (see text), or represents the Orkney galley of the Strathearn earls (and thus a confusion with the Grahams of Menteith),⁶⁵ or has some other explanation.



Regicide

The murder of King James I

This episode follows immediately after the royal wedding that concluded the previous chapter. In 1437, the year after Margaret's wedding to Louis, her father – King James I of Scotland (Fig. 5.1) – was stabbed to death by Patrick's great-uncle, Sir Robert Graham of Kinpont & Eliston (Fig. 1.7). Robert's coat of arms are shown in Fig. 5.2.

After almost nineteen years in English captivity, James commenced a harsh rule of Scotland in 1406 by arranging the imprisonment or execution of other potential claimants to the throne. Robert Graham, who had been educated at the University of Paris in the 1390s, had returned to Scotland before the turn of the century.¹ Subsequently, Robert's support for the Stewarts of Albany led James to imprison him in Dunbar Castle until 1428. In 1427, James had disinherited his nephew, Malise Graham, of the earldom of Strathearn and instead awarded it to Walter Stewart of Atholl, James' uncle.² When



Fig. 5.1 A 16th-century portrait of King James I of Scotland (d. 1437).³

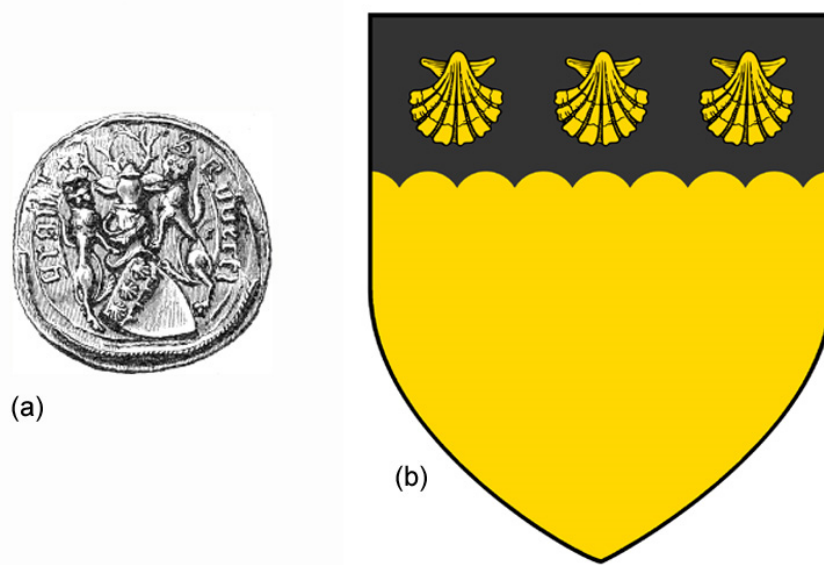


Fig. 5.2 Arms of Sir Robert Graham, murderer of King James I of Scotland. **(a)** In 1433, at which time he was acting as bailie for Walter Stewart of Atholl, the escutcheon on Robert’s seal bore “on a chief engrailed, three escallops.”⁴ **(b)** We may infer with reasonable certainty that the tinctures in Robert’s coat-of-arms followed those of his father, Patrick Graham of Dundaff and Kinkardine, in which case his arms would appear as shown in the panel above.

Walter’s relationship with the king subsequently soured, he joined forces with Robert, who by then had been freed and knighted. Sir Robert was induced to challenge James to reform and to attempt to bring the king to trial for the many abuses of his subjects; when this plan failed, Robert was forced into hiding.⁵ Walter and Robert went on to prepare a coup that would bring James’ thirteen-year rule to an end. The circumstances of the regicide, pieced together from various sources, were most likely as follows.⁶

On the evening of 20 February, 1437, the king and his retinue were at the Blackfriars monastery in Perth when there was a great commotion at the door. As part of the conspiracy, the door to the King’s Lodging had been interfered with so that it could not be used to prevent entry. Caught by surprise, James asked the women in his circle – which included his wife, Joan Beaufort – to guard the door while he sought a means of escape. Catherine Douglas, one of the Queen’s ladies, used her arm as a bolt to secure the door – for which she received the nickname “Barlass” – and had it broken as a result. Despite Catherine’s heroism, the band of raiders (which included Robert Graham and his eldest son, Thomas) soon gained access to the room.⁷ Some other women, including Queen Joan, were also injured in the resulting affray. James, who had been unable to escape via the windows, had used a fire-iron to prise up some floorboards and was hiding in a vault (perhaps a cellar or toilet pit) underneath the room. He would have been able to escape from this confinement by way of a sewer, had he not had the drain blocked a few days earlier in a bid to prevent his tennis balls from becoming lost in the conduit.

The raiders searched extensively for the king but without success. It is possible that James eventually decided that the coast was clear and called out prematurely for help; alternatively, the assassins may have noticed something amiss with the floorboards of the King's Lodging. Either way, James' hiding-place was discovered. Two assailants leaped successively into the confined space but each was disarmed in turn by the king, albeit at the cost of knife-wounds to his Majesty's hands. Sir Robert Graham – the king's most bitter enemy – then leaped down and skewered James with his knife. By now, the two previous attackers had recovered their weapons and joined Robert in a collective attack. In total, the assailants inflicted sixteen wounds on the king's breast, and others elsewhere,⁸ but the regicide is commonly attributed to Sir Robert.⁹ A highly romanticised engraving of the event is presented in Fig. 5.3.

The king's final minutes, while still valorized, are described somewhat more credibly in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's ballad:¹⁰

But while the King o'er his foes still raged
 With a heart that nought could tame,
 Another man sprang down to the crypt;
 And with his sword in his hand hard-gripp'd,
 There stood Sir Robert Graeme.

(Now shame on the recreant traitor's heart
 Who durst not face his King
 Till the body unarmed was wearied out
 With two-fold combating!

Ah! well might the people sing and say,
 As oft ye have heard aright:—
*"O Robert Graeme, O Robert Graeme,
 Who slew our King, God give thee shame!"*
 For he slew him not as a knight.)

[...]

And the traitor looked on the King's spent strength,
 And said:—"Have I kept my word?—
 Yea, King, the mortal pledge that I gave?
 No black friar's shrift thy soul shall have,
 But the shrift of this red sword!"

With that he smote his King through the breast;
 And all they three in that pen
 Fell on him and stabbed and stabbed him there
 Like merciless murderous men.

[...]

O God! what more did I hear or see,
 Or how should I tell the rest?
 But there at length our King lay slain
 With sixteen wounds in his breast.

The arrival of townsfolk who had become alarmed by the commotion at the monastery forced the assassins to flee. The Queen Consort, Joan, survived, and – after a brief interval of civil strife – assumed power as regent. She placed the butchered body of her husband on display before its interment in Perth Charterhouse, a Carthusian priory, and called for the arrest of his murderers. Following the capture of Walter Stewart, Sir Robert Graham was seized by two local lords, probably in northern Perthshire. There is a



Fig. 5.3 An engraving of the murder of James I of Scotland (anonymous, undated),¹¹ which relocates the stabbing from a squalid underfloor pit to a well-appointed room of the King's Lodging. The tartan worn by the principal attacker – whom one would expect to be Sir Robert Graham – does not match that of the Montrose or Menteith Grahams, whose colours are green (major) and black/purple (minor).¹² The red check is in fact probably intended to reflect Walter Stewart's involvement in the plot, as the Stewart of Atholl tartan is red (major) and green (minor).¹³ The legend under the engraving begins "Walter Earl of Athole headed the conspirators, and effected an entrance in the Monastery of the Dominicans near Perth, on the 12th of February, 1437..." The legend is incorrect in placing Walter Stewart at the scene, as he had been careful to stay several miles distant from the crime.¹⁴ It has also brought forward by 9 days the date of the killing, which occurred in the early hours of the 21st February, 1437.

tradition that he was found hiding on the edge of Loch Bhac near Blair Atholl, at a place where the stream is now called Allt Ghramaich (Graham's Burn) and the outcrop named Graham's Rock.¹⁵ Some historians claim that Sir Robert was tortured,¹⁶ reporting that he was first nailed to a tree and dragged through the streets; that his body was then torn with pincers, and that his son (presumably Thomas) was tortured and beheaded before him.¹⁷ Whether or not those details are accurate, he was taken to the court at Stirling and "executed there with exemplary brutality in April 1437."¹⁸ Within 40 days of the murder, all of the conspirators (including Walter Stewart of Atholl) had been caught and executed.¹⁹

The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis is a near-contemporary English description of the regicide in which Sir Robert is the central personality.²⁰ Robert's actions, in first calling upon James to reform and then seeking to detain him for trial, are presented as laudable, and as proof that he only turned to violence as a last resort. James' killing is portrayed as a tyrannicide, an action justified by the king's previous execution of his lords and unwarranted taxation of his subjects.²¹ According to the *Dethe*, Sir Robert defends himself in the following words:²²

"Alle ye wrecched and merciles Scottische folke withowte prudence and fulle replete of unavised folly. I knowe wele that I schale nowe dye and may not aschape your venymouse judyschalle hondes... Yitte dowte I nott but theat yee schulle see the daye and tyme that ye schulle pray for my sowle, for the grete good that I have done to yow, and to all this reume of Scotteland, that I have thus slayne and deliverede yow of so crewell a tyrant, the grettest enemye that Scottes or Scotland myght have."

In 2018, the regicide formed the central theme of the second episode of Neil Oliver's BBC television documentary, *Rise of the Clans*.²³ This presents Sir Robert's actions as an embodiment of clan justice, especially as a reprisal for James' execution of Murdoch Stewart, son and successor to Robert of Albany – the man by whose side Robert's clan had fought at the savage Battle of Harlaw ("Red Harlaw") in 1411.

In a curious epilogue to James' death, the embalmed heart of the murdered king was taken on pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It was returned from Rhodes to Scotland for burial by an unnamed Knight of St. John of Jerusalem, who received payments for this in 1444 and 1445.²⁴ One may reasonably presume that this individual was acquainted with fellow Hospitaller Nicolas de Giresme, the hero of Chapter 4, who had resided at the Order's headquarters in Rhodes from soon after 1439 until 1442.²⁵

The Despard Plot

Almost four centuries later, another Graham made a less successful attempt at regicide. In 1803, one Arthur Graham, a slater²⁶ or soldier,²⁷ was convicted of high treason for his role in the attempted assassination of King George III of England. The plot, led by Col. Edward Marcus Despard (Fig. 5.4), was particularly ill-prepared, and described by one commentator as "certainly the most vain and impotent attempt ever engendered in the



Fig. 5.4 Edward Marcus Despard by John Chapman, after unknown artist; stipple engraving, published 1804. © National Portrait Gallery, London,²⁸ Reference Collection NPG D2268. Reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-NC-ND 3.0.

distracted brain of an enthusiast.”²⁹ Col. Despard had been born in 1751 to a Protestant family in Mountrath, Queen’s County (now Co. Laois), Ireland.³⁰ By strange coincidence, my father’s family come from the Mountrath area (Chapter 9); there were Protestant Grahams in Mountrath at least as far back as the 18th century, and in later

times my great-aunt Eileen (Holmes, nee Graham) was close friends with a contemporary Despard.³¹ Since the two 19th century plotters were around the same age (Graham was three years older than Despard), one has to wonder if Arthur Graham – who evidently was Protestant³² – might not also have come from Mountrath. Having been betrayed by a member of their conspiracy, Despard and nine others – including Graham – were tried and found guilty of high treason. Seven, including Despard and Graham, were sentenced “to be hanged by the neck, but not until you are dead; for while you are still living your bodies are to be taken down, your bowels torn out and burned before your faces, your heads then cut off, and your bodies divided each into four quarters, and your heads and quarters to be then at the King’s disposal.”³³ These convicts have the distinction of being the last ones in England sentenced to be “hanged, drawn and quartered.”³⁴ Before this sentence was carried out, however, it was commuted to simple hanging and beheading because of concerns that such extreme cruelty might anger the public. At 8:53 a.m. on 21 February, 1803,³⁵ Despard, Graham and the others were prepared for hanging on the roof of the gatehouse at Horsemonger Lane Gaol before a crowd of 20,000 people (Fig. 5.5).³⁶ At 53 years, Graham was the oldest of the group; he looked shaken, “pale and ghastly.”³⁷ The group was then hanged simultaneously or in very quick succession, after which each of their bodies was decapitated.



Fig. 5.5 Col. Despard makes his final address to the crowd on 21 February, 1803.

Calendrical coincidences

One cannot help noticing that Arthur Graham was executed for his part in the plot against George III on 21 February, the anniversary of the murder of James I of Scotland by Sir Robert Graham 366 years earlier.³⁸ In the next chapter (Chapter 6) we will encounter a man named Richie Graham who was convicted of attempting to kill James VI of Scotland by sorcery, for which he was executed on 29 February, 1592. The following year saw another Graham sentenced to death by James for treason: David Graham, Laird of Fintry, was implicated in a plot called “the Spanish Blanks,” in which blank papers that had been pre-signed by various nobles were to be used to obtain Spanish help in restoring Catholicism to Scotland.³⁹ He was executed on 15 February, 1593.⁴⁰ Overall, it seems that the second half of February was generally a time of reckoning for Grahams with a grudge against their king, whether real or perceived.



Witches and Wizards

The Witch of Monzie

The most famous witch associated with the Grahams is undoubtedly the Witch of Monzie, whose personal name is variously recorded as Kate McNiven, Kate NicNevin, Kate Nike Neiving, or similar.^{1,2} This Kate had apparently been nursemaid to the younger heir of the Graemes of Inchbrakie, the premier cadet branch of the House of Graham,³ who had held lands east of Crieff since 1513.⁴ The many conflicting dates given for Kate's death – which range from 1563 to 1722 – make it difficult to know precisely which Graeme was Laird of Inchbrakie in her time,⁵ but it is said that this man's personal knife and fork went missing while he was distracted by a troublesome bee during dinner at Duncrub Castle. When he mentioned their loss back at his home in Inchbrakie, Kate was immediately able to produce the missing cutlery. This led to the suspicion that Kate herself had been the bee and that she was a witch.⁶ Kate was therefore banished from the Inchbrakie household and retired to her former home in nearby Monzie (pronounced Mon-ee), where – in some accounts – she acquired a further reputation for witchcraft.⁷ Versions of the story differ, but some assert that the Laird's younger son, whom Kate had nursed, had taken a dislike to her because of a suspicion that she had tried to poison him; these accounts assert that he was the ringleader of the locals who agitated for Kate's demise.⁸ Accounts also differ on whether there was a trial, condemnation and sentence,⁹ or whether the events that followed simply amounted to a mob lynching.¹⁰ Either way, Kate was taken by disgruntled locals to the Knock of Crieff, which was on land owned by the Laird of Monzie, and was tied to a stake and surrounded by piles of wood. The Laird of Inchbrakie rode immediately to the scene and argued vigorously for Kate's life to be spared, but to no avail.¹¹

As the faggots were being lit, Kate bit a blue bead from her necklace and spat it at the Laird, bidding him guard it carefully. In a three-fold blessing, she prophesised that, so long as the gem was kept at Inchbrakie, these Graeme lands would pass directly from father to son, the estate would not be lost, and that good would come to the family.¹² Kate then directed a three-fold curse towards her persecutors: the estate of the Laird of Monzie, on whose land she was about to die, would never pass from father to son; the town of Monzie would decline while those around it prospered; and Monzie would always contain an idiot "with lolling tongue and rolling eye."¹³ The success of the curse is asserted by some¹⁴ and disputed by others.¹⁵ The "blue bead" – which turned out to be a sapphire moonstone¹⁶ – was set into a gold ring that was worn by daughters-in-law of the subsequent Lairds (Fig. 6.1), with evident success in propagating the male line.¹⁷ The ring, along with another memento of Kate referred to as the Witch's Relic (Fig. 6.2), remains in the possession of the Graemes of Inchbrakie.¹⁸ The accidental removal of the ring from Inchbrakie lands in the nineteenth century was followed by piecemeal sale of



Fig. 6.1 Kate McNiven’s “blue bead” – a sapphire moonstone – set into a gold and enamel ring between two colourless brilliants, each of different shape.¹⁹ Image © Alex Graeme, Devon,²⁰ used by kind permission.

the entire estate.²¹ The power of the ring was invoked directly as late as 1929, whereupon a looming failure in male issue was narrowly averted (Fig. 6.3); happily, the Graeme line of Inchbrakie continues unbroken to this day.²²

The historical existence of the Witch of Monzie is uncertain, and the case is not helped by the wide range of dates proposed for her execution and the lack of any formal record of her death. By the sixteenth century, the name NicNevin was in literary use to denote a Scottish Hecate or mother-witch²³ – possibly an allusion to the Arthurian enchantress Nivian/Nimiane/Nenive whose magic overwhelmed Merlin himself.²⁴ The name was applied – perhaps as an honorific – to a feisty old woman who was burned as a witch at St. Andrews in 1569.²⁵ In a poem composed around 1580, a man being lampooned was described as having been breast-fed in infancy by NicNeven before being shipped off to



Fig. 6.2 (left) The Witch's Relic, which is stored alongside Kate McNiven's ring (Fig. 6.1) by the Graemes of Inchbrakie. The skull has been painted with gold hair and dark blue eye-sockets, nose cavity and mouth.²⁶ The heart, which is inscribed "Cruell Death," is the same dark blue colour, and its gold projections are the terminals of a pair of crossed bones.²⁷ Image © Alex Graeme, Devon,²⁸ used by kind permission.

Fig. 6.3 (right) Newspaper article from 1929, announcing the birth of a son to Capt. David H. Graeme of the Seaforth Highlanders. Image © Alex Graeme, Devon,²⁹ grandson of Capt. David H. Graeme, used by kind permission.

his foster-mother, "Kate of Crieff;" it is possible that two such figments of the popular imagination became conflated over time and gave birth to Kate's legend.³⁰ In 1643, Johnne Brughe – also known as the Warlock of Glendevon – claimed to have learned his black art from the niece of "Nike Neveing, that notorious infamous witch in Monzie."³¹ Other than this, written accounts that mention our protagonist's name and/or locale in connection with witchcraft do not appear until the nineteenth century.³²

Kate's story is commemorated in the names of numerous features around Monzie and the Knock of Crieff; there we find Kate McNiven's Gate, Bridge, Craig, Stone (Fig. 6.4) and Ghost Tree (Fig. 6.5).³³ Her memory also survives in the arts. A play by James Stewart



Fig. 6.4 Kate McNiven's Stone in the foreground and her Craig in the background. Image © Paul Bennett, *The Northern Antiquarian*,³⁴ used by kind permission.



Fig. 6.5 Kate McNiven's Tree. Photo taken Oct 2010 by Notredamewc, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.³⁵

titled *The Witch of Monzie*, produced in Crieff in 1832, culminated in an on-stage burning of the protagonist.³⁶ The Rev. George Blair's introduction to his lengthy poem of 1845, titled *The Holocaust; or, The Witch of Monzie*, places Kate's death in 1715, which causes him to remark the coincidence in time and place with Rob Roy (Chapter 8).³⁷ Blair's Kate boasts from the burning pyre of her life as a witch, and uses her dying words – which are accompanied by an earthquake – to curse Monzie and Auchterarder and to bless “the ancient house of Graeme” at Inchbrakie.³⁸ Kate is commemorated once more in Duncan MacTavish's poem of 1897, another work titled *The Witch of Monzie*.³⁹ Her death at the stake also inspired artist Robert Rule to depict the scene in a 1918 water-colour entitled “The Burning of Kate Neiving on Knock Hill, Crieff” (Fig. 6.6).⁴⁰

Richie Graham, notorious and known necromancer

James VI of Scotland (later James I of England) had an obsession with witchcraft; his book on the subject, *Daemonologie*,⁴¹ reveals the depth of his zeal against the practice. For James, king by the grace of God, witchcraft and political subversion were intimately intertwined.⁴² In 1591, this prejudice was brought to bear forcefully on Francis Stewart



Fig. 6.6 Robert Rule (1892-1964) “The Burning of Kate Neiving on Knock Hill, Crieff;” watercolour of 1918. Image courtesy of Perth Museum & Art Gallery, Perth & Kinross Council, Scotland.

Hepburn, the 5th Earl of Bothwell, a potential rival of whom James had grown afraid. Specifically, after a series of storms threatened the safe return of James and his new queen from Scandinavia, the king accused Bothwell of inciting a coven of witches to use sorcery to bring about the his death.⁴³

The interest of these events to us lies in the fact that the advisor to these so-called North Berwick witches (Fig. 6.7) was one Richard or Richie Graham,⁴⁴ described in a nineteenth century chronicle as “a prominent licentiate of the devil’s medical college.”⁴⁵ Referring to “the examinacioun of Richard Graiham – the pryncipall of the witches heere,”⁴⁶ James used Graham’s testimony to further his case against Bothwell, and eventually committed the Earl to trial.⁴⁷ Under interrogation, Graham admitted to having a familiar spirit whom he could see and consult;⁴⁸ he claimed that Bothwell had held magical consultations to arrange the king’s death; that ex-Chancellor Arran also dealt in enchantments; and he confessed to several raisings of the devil, including one incident in the Laird of Auchinleck’s house and one in the yard of Sir Lewis Bellenden, the late Justice-Clerk.⁴⁹ The details of the magical consultations on Bothwell’s behalf were, at the time of the latter’s trial, summarised as follows:⁵⁰



Fig. 6.7 The North Berwick witches; from a contemporary pamphlet, *Newes From Scotland*.⁵¹

Greyme had conference with other wythes (as he saith) amongst whome the conclusion was, that therle Bothwell should have a poison delyvered him, made of adders skynnes, tode skynnes, and the hipomanes in the forehead of a yong fole, all whiche being joyned by there arte together, should be such a poison as being laid where the kinge should comme, so as yt might dropp uppon his head, yt wold be a poison of such vehemencye, as should have presently cut him off. Another maner device for his destruction was this – to make his picture of waxe mingled with certen other thinges, which should have consumed and melted awaye in tyme, meanyng the Kinge should consume as it did. A third mean to cut him of was – that he should be enchanted to remayne in Denmarke, and not returne into Scotland.

Although Graham was reputed to be a “notour and knawn necromancer, ane common abuser of the people,”⁵² Bothwell’s defence counter-claimed that he was a “pretended nigromancer bot in effect a lyer and a false abuser ignorant of that art that men wald attribute unto him.” Graham went to his death adamant – perhaps truthfully⁵³ – that Bothwell had solicited him to conjure the demise of the king. “Tuesday, Feb. 29 [1592], Richard Grahame, the arch-sorcerer of the day, who had been mixed up with the witchcraft practices [...] for a year or two past, was strangled and burnt at the Cross of Edinburgh.”⁵⁴ Bothwell’s trial concluded with his acquittal in relation to the witchcraft charges in August 1593, although James subsequently managed to have him excommunicated and exiled.⁵⁵

The magician Richard Graham was described as “a Westland man,”⁵⁶ which is consistent with Helen Stafford’s suggestion that he may have been from the family of Richard of Netherby & Esk,⁵⁷ the son of Lang Will of Stuble (Chapter 8; see ahead to Fig. 8.1).⁵⁸ Richard’s eldest son, Richard (b. *ca.* 1555), may have been about the right age. This man had lands given to him by Henry VIII and arms granted by the Duke of Norfolk;⁵⁹ if he is our wizard, these endowments might explain how he came to have connections in high places.⁶⁰ By 1583, the descendants of “Ould Rich” reportedly numbered over 100 men,⁶¹ and some of these too must have carried their patriarch’s forename. Of the other known Border candidates (Chapter 8) we must exclude Richard, son of John of Medoppe, who was exiled to Roscommon in 1606;⁶² Richard, son of Hugh/Hutcheon the bastard, who in 1592 was “water keeper for England” in the Debatable Land;⁶³ and Rich Graham of Akeshaw Hill, who was still riding in 1597.⁶⁴ Remaining Border candidates include Richard (son of William of Carlisle and grandson of Lang Will), Richard of Randylinton (a Graham of the Leven, now the River Lyne), and Richie Graham of the Bailey; little is known about any of these.⁶⁵ Sir Bernard Burke clearly believed that the warlock came from the Western Border.⁶⁶ However, if our man was indeed from the Esk/Netherby region, it is surprising that the genealogy of these Border Grahams, which was commissioned by Lord Scrope and annotated in 1596 by Lord Burghley,⁶⁷ makes no mention of his execution four years earlier for treasonous witchcraft. After all, Burghley missed no other opportunity to write ill of the Grahams in his list.

The enchantment of Lady Catherine Graham

In 1620, Sir John Colquhoun of Luss⁶⁸ married Lady Lillas Graham, the eldest daughter of the 4th Earl of Montrose; between 1621 and 1630, Lillas went on to bear him three sons and three daughters.⁶⁹ In 1625, King Charles I made Sir John the 1st Baronet of Nova Scotia.⁷⁰ When Lillas' father died in 1626, she and Sir John took her fourth and fifth sisters – Catherine and Beatrix, at that time still young girls – to live with them at Rossdhu (Fig. 6.8) on their estate at Loch Lomond.⁷¹ In September 1631, Sir John and

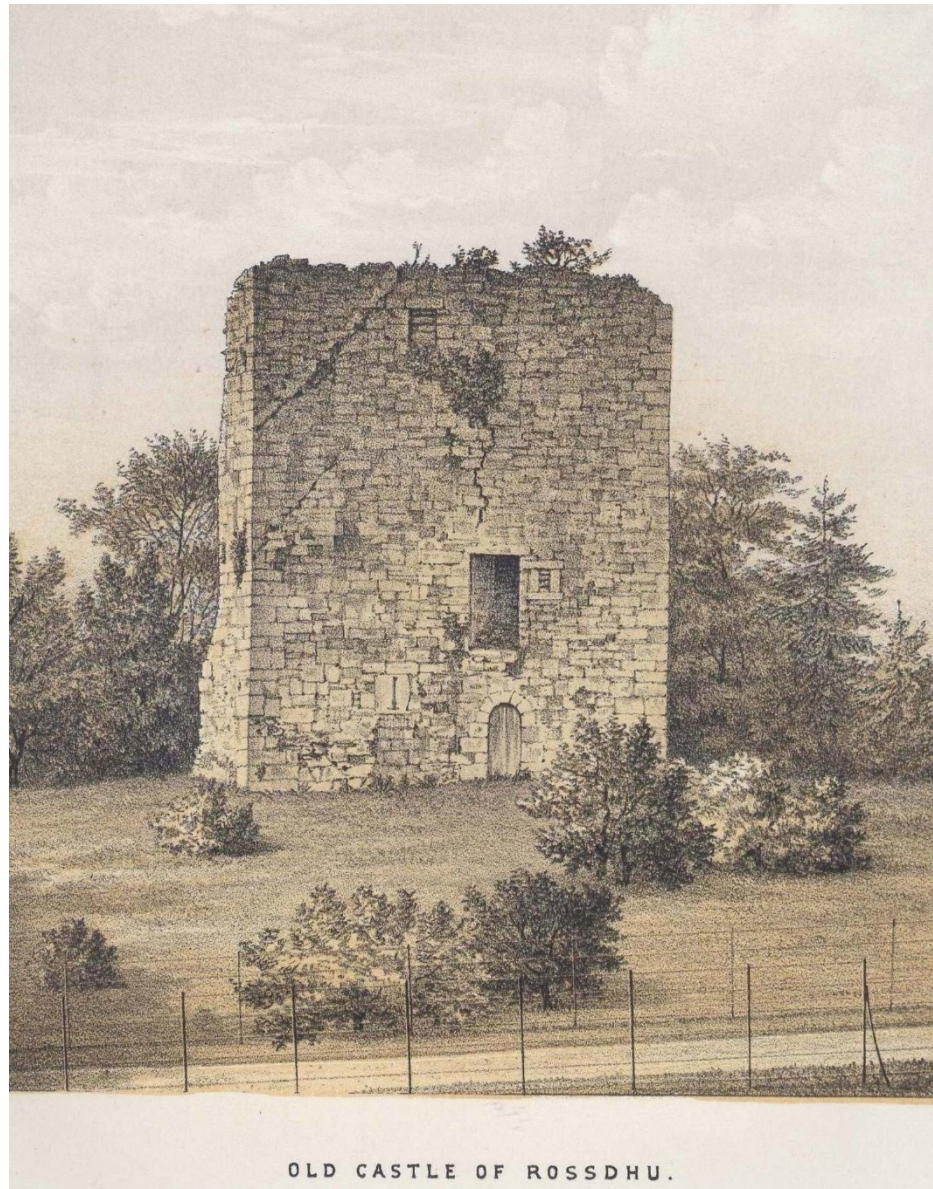


Fig. 6.8 Undated engraving of the remains of the old fortalice of Rossdhu, Loch Lomond, which still stand to this day. Charters of 1541 and 1602 mention that the fortalice was accompanied by a tower and castle; the latter was the main dwelling of Sir John Colquhoun, his wife Lady Lillas and her sister Lady Catherine.⁷²

his sister-in-law, Lady Catherine, eloped; he would have been about 35 years old and she about 17.⁷³ Under Scottish law at that time, a sexual relationship with a sibling of your spouse was considered to be incest, a capital crime.⁷⁴

A year later, King Charles I issued mandates for the prosecution of Sir John Colquhoun on the charge of incest accomplished by means of sorcery. The charge, drafted by the Lord Advocate, asserted that Sir John, having being unable to win the beautiful Catherine's favour by enticement and persuasion,⁷⁵

thereupon addressed himself to certain witches and sorcerers, and consulted and dealt with them for charms and incantations [...] and procured from [Thomas Carlippis,] a necromancer, certain philtres or poisons of love, or poisonable and enchanted tokens of love, especially a jewell of gold set with divers pretious diamonds or rubies which was poisoned or intoxicated by the said necromancer, and had the secret and devilish force of alluring and forcing the receiver thereof to expose her body, fame, and credit to the unlawful will and pleasure of the giver thereof.

Although Sir Bernard Burke re-told the tale with full credulity in 1863, and even suggested that the magical jewel might recently have been recovered from Loch Lomond,⁷⁶ we should be more circumspect. In particular, we should note that Lady Catherine was the sister of James Graham, the famed 1st Marquis of Montrose (Chapter 7), who would have had influence over the king and who would have taken great pains to preserve the reputation of his younger sister and the honour of the family. Moreover, the Lord Advocate who drafted the criminal charges against Sir John had previously been the Montrose family lawyer.⁷⁷ In place of necromantic enchantment, then, we may more simply infer either an unexceptional seduction of the young girl by the older man, or perhaps a mutual infatuation, and ultimately an elopement prompted either by the discovery of the affair or by a pregnancy resulting from it.⁷⁸ The scandal caused the Marquis of Montrose to direct the full force of the law against Sir John in a manner that implicated him in a diabolical conspiracy while conveniently exonerating Lady Catherine from any wrong-doing.⁷⁹ Already in exile, Sir John was declared fugitive in 1633 and excommunicated;⁸⁰ if convicted of any of the charges against him, he faced execution.

The subsequent political upheavals in Scotland saw the tables turn; in 1647, Sir John Colquhoun returned to Scotland and was rehabilitated, whereas the Marquis of Montrose lived in exile under sentence of death.⁸¹ Of Catherine nothing more was heard,⁸² but a certain William Colquhoun (born in 1632 or 1633) later claimed to be her son by Sir John Colquhoun.⁸³

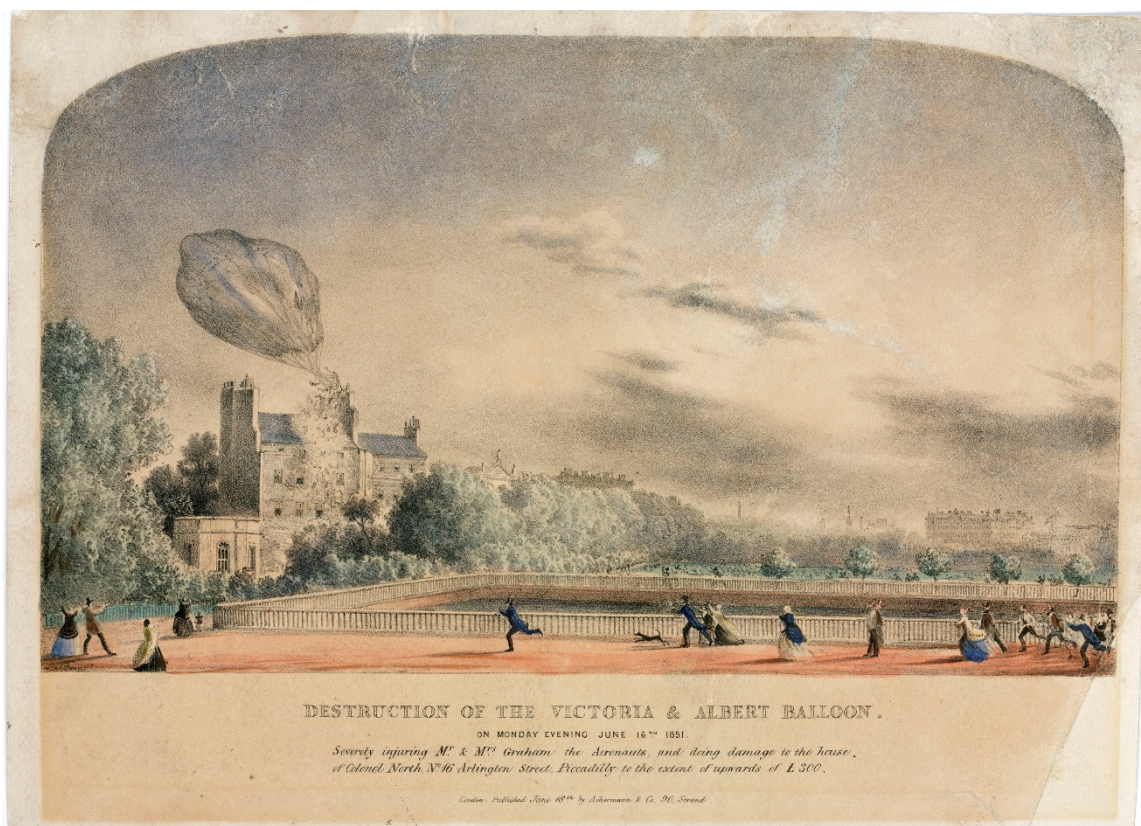
George W. Graham, an inept adept

In the nineteenth century we find George W. Graham (*ca.* 1784-1860), “a disaster-prone occult balloonist.”⁸⁴ A member of a secret magical society known as the Society of the Mercurii, George is credited with owning a portion of the manuscript known as *The Book*

of Magic – with Instructions for Invoking Spirits, etc. (ca. 1577-1583, MS. V.b.26, Folger Shakespeare Library).^{85,86} Elsewhere, he is recorded as an alchemist.⁸⁷

George's passion for aeronautics was shared by his wife, Margaret,⁸⁸ who in 1850 made the first ever night ascent by a woman.⁸⁹ Mrs. Graham's ballooning repeatedly endangered her life. For example, two weeks after her first night ascent, a further nocturnal voyage ended with the balloon-gas catching fire,⁹⁰ causing burns to Margaret's face and hands.⁹¹

George's balloons were also dangerously unpredictable.⁹² In an all too typical episode in 1851, the gondola of his "Victoria & Albert Balloon" first suffered damage at the Crystal Palace, then skimmed the reservoir in Green Park, next became trapped on the roof of a house in Arlington St., and – when finally dislodged by the wind – tore down the chimneys of various houses (Fig. 6.9a).⁹³ Both George and Margaret fell out onto a rooftop (Fig. 6.9b) and were seriously injured, the former breaking his chest and collar bones and receiving a severe head-wound.⁹⁴



(a)

Fig. 6.9 Destruction of the Grahams' "Victoria & Albert Balloon." (a) Colour print published on 18th June, 1851, Ackermann & Co., London. This specimen is in the Science Museum, London; Inv. No. 3028119. Licensed via Getty Images, Image no. 90780243,⁹⁵ Order no. 1050170921. /ctd.



(b)

Fig. 6.9, ctd. Destruction of the Grahams' "Victoria & Albert Balloon." (b) Detail from the print in panel (a), showing George and Margaret Graham falling from the gondola onto the roof of Col. North's house at 16 Arlington St., where both were seriously injured. Damage to the house was reported to have exceeded £300.

The Book of Magic, part of which George is believed to have owned, was split into three portions at some point prior to 1887.⁹⁶ Two parts have now been reunited, from which it is clear that the book is a Solomonic grimoire of Christian magic; it contains spells and invocations, and is embellished with charts, magic circles, and descriptions and drawings of spirits, angels, and demons.⁹⁷ Many of the spells are designed to deter or catch thieves and to prevent or cure illness. Both categories may have been useful to our man in his public life. After a failed balloon ascent in 1823, George promised to reimburse the entrance fees to an angry and violent crowd, only to find that the gatekeeper had absconded with the takings.⁹⁸ By 1827, ongoing financial trouble saw George in custody and on trial.⁹⁹ Equally, there would have been many occasions on which George could have applied healing spells from the book to wounds inflicted by aeronautical mishaps that had befallen himself and his wife.



From battle to ballad: “Gallant Grahams” of the 17th century

Historical context

The setting for this chapter is the complex and often confusing clash between the Covenanters – the Scottish Presbyterians who opposed the Episcopalian (Anglican) reforms imposed on their Kirk by Charles I in 1637 – and the Royalists, who supported the king. To begin with, the Covenanters raised an army and defeated Charles in the so-called Bishops’ Wars. The ensuing crisis in the royal House of Stuart (Stewart) helped to precipitate the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, which included the English Civil War, the Scottish Civil War and Irish Confederate Wars. For the following decade of civil war in Britain, the Covenanters were the *de facto* government of Scotland. In 1643, military aid from Covenanter forces helped the Parliamentary side in the English Civil War (“Roundheads”) to achieve victory over the king’s Royalist faction (“Cavaliers”). In turn, this triggered civil war in Scotland as Scottish Royalists – mainly Catholics and Episcopalians – took up arms against the Covenanters to oppose the impending Presbyterian domination of the Scottish religious landscape by an increasingly despotic Kirk. It is in the turmoil of this setting that Sir James Graham of Montrose (Fig. 7.1), the first of the two leaders discussed in the present chapter, plays a key role. Initially a Covenanter himself – he had signed the National Covenant in 1638 – he had effectively switched sides by 1643, becoming a leader of the Scottish Royalists.

At the end of the first civil wars, in which Charles I surrendered to the Scots in 1646, the Covenanters’ insistence on dictating the religious future of both Scotland and England eventually led to all-out war with their former allies, the English Parliamentarians; indeed, the Covenanters switched their allegiance to the Royalist cause, and – in 1650 – signed an alliance with Charles II. In the preceding months Montrose, who had advised Charles against striking such a bargain, had been campaigning on the king’s behalf in Scotland, where his defeat by Covenanter forces at Carbisdale led to his capture and execution. In turn, the Covenanter army was completely defeated in 1650-52 by the English Parliamentary forces led by Oliver Cromwell, an outcome that ended the Covenanters as a civil power.

When Charles II was restored as monarch of Scotland in 1660, he turned on the Covenanters and instigated their persecution. In response, rebel ministers began to preach at secret open-air meetings called “conventicles.” In 1666, a small band of poorly-armed Covenanters mounted an insurrection but was defeated south-west of Edinburgh. A force of Highland soldiers was then stationed by Charles in south-west Scotland to subdue Covenanter-led unrest; in due course, it was accused of many atrocities. From 1669, some Presbyterian ministers were “indulged” by Charles’s government, a gesture which



Fig. 7.1 “James Graham, 1st Marquess of Montrose, 1612-1650. Royalist.” Portrait of Montrose, attributed to Willem van Honthorst (d. 1666). Oil on canvas.¹

allowed them to retain their churches without having to submit to Episcopalian authority, but the more hardline Covenanters continued to preach at their illegal conventicles. These meetings were habitually dispersed by squads of government dragoons which, after 1678, included squads led by Sir John Graham of Claverhouse – the second of the two great leaders discussed in the present chapter (Fig. 7.2).

A further rebellion broke out in 1679, after the unexpected success of a group of Covenanters – armed with nothing more than farm implements – against government forces led by Claverhouse at the Battle of Drumclog. At Bothwell, near Glasgow, the rebels swelled in number, but a few weeks later they were defeated by the king's army, led by James Scott, the Duke of Monmouth, at the Battle of Bothwell Brig.

In 1680, a small radical faction of Covenanters known as the Cameronians renounced completely their allegiance to Charles and denounced his brother, James, as a papist. This escalation was met with equally harsh reprisals, and the penal laws that originally targeted Catholics (whose provisions included arbitrary arrest, torture and deportation) were redirected toward the Covenanters. Charles's brother was indeed a Catholic. Upon his accession in 1685, James – now James II of England and James VII of Scotland – displayed religious tolerance, renewing the “indulgence” that allowed the rehabilitation of Presbyterian ministers who had not resorted to violence. His reign, however, was



(a)



(b)

Fig. 7.2 Two engravings of Claverhouse. (a) Miniature painted 1660-1695 by David Paton; public domain.² (b) Engraving by Burnet Reading, published in 1818 by Thomas Rodd the Elder, London.³

short; in 1688, James was deposed by the English Parliamentary faction with the assistance of William of Orange and his Protestant forces from the Netherlands.

The Jacobite Rising of 1689 saw the re-emergence of John Graham of Claverhouse – who had been elevated as Viscount Dundee by James – as a Royalist military leader, this time at the head of the Jacobite faction seeking James’s restoration. His army, which consisted mainly of Highlanders, enjoyed initial success, but its victory over government forces at Killiecrankie came at the cost of Dundee’s life. With their leader gone, the Jacobite force was defeated in August 1689 at Dunkeld by the Cameronian Regiment, who supported William of Orange – now William III of England and William II of Scotland. Under William, Catholicism became permanently disenfranchised in England and Presbyterianism was restored in Scotland, albeit in a more moderate form. The latter development failed to satisfy the hardline Cameronians among the Covenanters and, in due course, the resulting disenchantment led to further breakaway movements from the Church of Scotland. Many Catholics and other supporters of the House of Stuart were understandably alienated by the ousting of James by Parliament, which *inter alia* violated the principle of “the divine right of kings.” Another Graham who conspired to return the former king to the throne was James, 1st Viscount Preston (d. 1695),⁴ and Jacobite plots and revolts continued intermittently until 1745.

The Scottish Civil War was a bitter episode which exposed the religious divisions between Presbyterians, Episcopalians (Anglicans) and Catholics, the political divisions between Royalists and Covenanters, and the cultural divisions between Highlanders and Lowlanders. Throughout the period of repression, the Covenanters held their convictions with a zeal that was only intensified by the persecution directed toward them. For them, the issue was a matter of religious belief. In contrast, the government viewed the illicit conventicle movement primarily as a breakdown of public order and dealt with it simply as a criminal activity. Nowadays, the 17th-century reality of armed conflict between Presbyterians and Anglicans seems absurd. We need to remember that it is only a few decades since Northern Ireland was the theatre for guerilla warfare between Protestant and Catholic paramilitaries, and that sectarian and other religiously-motivated violence – often with state sponsorship – continues to wreak destruction in the Middle East of our own time. Let us beware, then, of unbridled support for Covenant or king; one faction’s divinely-ordained victory is too often another’s genocide, and civil war too often a convenient mask for ethnic cleansing.

The Grahams who are the focus of this chapter were both Lowlanders. Although active in the same historical context, their times did not overlap: Montrose’s exploits spanned the period from 1638 to 1650, and Claverhouse’s that from 1673 to 1689. Claverhouse hailed from Graham of Fintry (Figs. 1.7 & 1.12), a cadet house of Montrose; the sub-branch maintained close links with the main line, with John of Claverhouse’s grandfather acting as tutor to James of Montrose during the latter’s childhood.⁵ Montrose was a Presbyterian, whereas Claverhouse was an Episcopalian. Although Montrose began as a Covenanter, and Claverhouse married into a prominent Covenanter family, both men are best known as political and military leaders who furthered the Royalist cause, and who

therefore directed their energies against the Covenanter movement. For both, the Royalist cause meant the royal House of Stuart. Even their religion took second place to their loyalty to the Stuart kings; after James VII (a Catholic) was deposed, Claverhouse (an Episcopalian) rejected the accession of William of Orange (a fellow Protestant) and led the first Jacobite rising.⁶

Sir James Graham, Earl and Marquis of Montrose

James Graham, the only son of the 4th Earl of Montrose (Figs. 1.7 & 1.17), “was an attractive young man, handsome, graceful, and with keen grey eyes, he was a fine horseman and archer; he was also emotional, serious-minded and proud, unusually capable of arousing both friendship and enmity”⁷ (Fig. 7.3). Educated at Glasgow and the University of St. Andrews, he had also spent time in France and Italy.⁸ He became the 5th Earl of Montrose upon his father’s death in 1626,⁹ and was appointed 1st Marquis of Montrose in 1644.¹⁰

In 1638, as a ruling elder of his Kirk, he signed the National Covenant, fighting – and winning – his first battle on behalf of the Covenanters at Bridge of Dee in 1639; he then took part in their invasion of England, fighting for the Covenanters at Newburn.¹¹ But

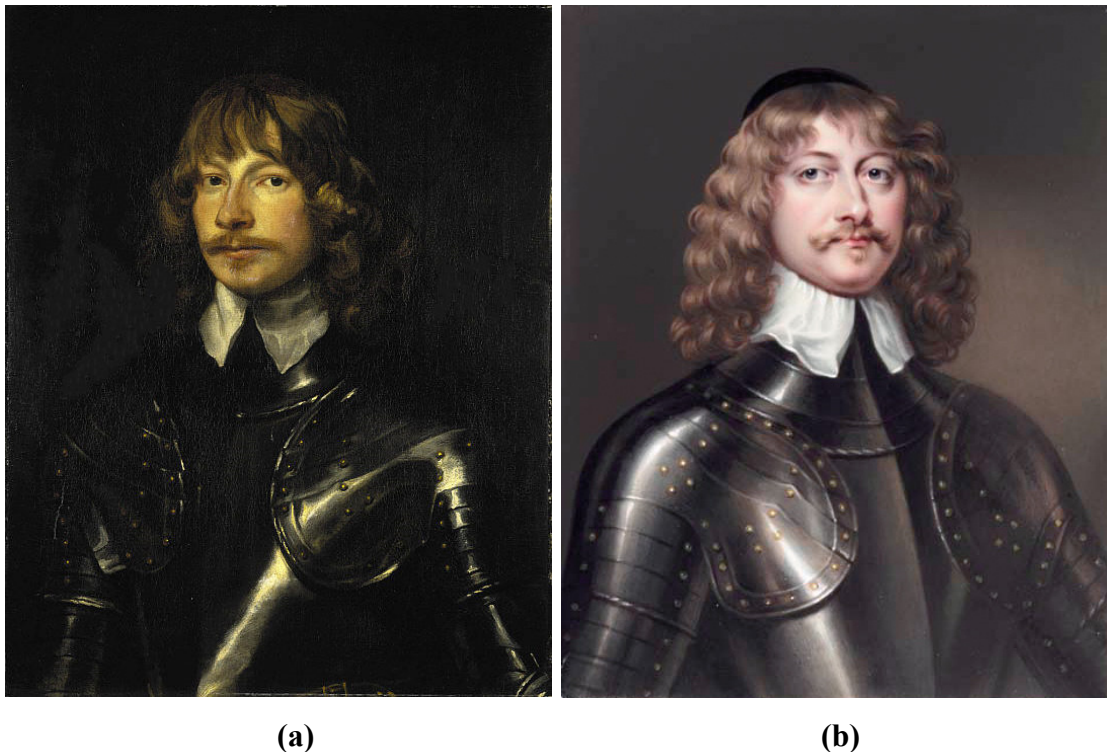


Fig. 7.3 Portraits of Montrose. **(a)** Portrait by William Dobson (d. 1646). Oil on canvas; public domain.¹² **(b)** Portrait by Henry Pierce Bone, painted in 1839 from an original by Anthony van Dyck (d. 1641). Enamel on copper.¹³

his Royalist leanings – whose ideological foundations are laid bare in his *Discourse on Sovereignty*, written around this time – led him to distrust and oppose Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll, whose agitation had led the Scottish Parliament to reject royal authority entirely.¹⁴ Wounded pride at Argyll's pre-eminence was probably another factor in Montrose's waning commitment to the Covenanter cause.¹⁵ An exposure of his secret correspondence with Charles I caused him to be arrested in 1641 for intrigues against Argyll, whereupon he spent 5 months in jail.¹⁶

In 1644, the southerly march of the Covenanter army to aid the English Parliamentarians saw Montrose switch sides. Appointed as the king's Lieutenant-General, he undertook the seemingly impossible task of raising an army of Royalists in Scotland. Yet, within a year, "Montrose had raised an army, won six battles, destroyed the Covenanting forces, and entered Glasgow in triumph."¹⁷ It was Montrose's genius to recognise that the Covenanters had sent all of their experienced troops from Scotland to more distant fronts, leaving them vulnerable to attack in their homeland.¹⁸ Throughout his campaign, Montrose was aided by "Black Pate" – Patrick Graeme, 5th of Inchbrakie (Fig. 1.16b) – who acted as his chief-of-staff.¹⁹ The Royalist campaign in Scotland went as follows.²⁰ In August 1644, Montrose's army – which was mainly comprised of Irish Confederates and Scottish West Highlanders, numbering around 2000 men – defeated a force twice its size at Tippermuir, allowing him to enter Perth. His next victory was in September at Aberdeen, after which he induced Argyll's large pursuing force to engage in an extended wild goose chase through mountainous terrain. The many McDonalds in Montrose's army took the resulting opportunity to pillage the lands of the Campbells, Argyll's kinsmen and their traditional enemies, killing 1500 of the clan in a battle at Inverlochy in February 1645. Montrose then moved to the east coast where he successfully raided Dundee and – between May and August – went on to defeat three armies at Auldearn, Alford and Kilsyth. Glasgow yielded to him, and Edinburgh freed its Royalist prisoners.

The tide, however, was on the turn. When Montrose headed his army southward, intending to reclaim England for Charles, he encountered a large and experienced Covenanter force returning from the south where the king's faction had already been defeated. Many of Montrose's Highlanders had already deserted with their booty, leaving him to face Sir David Leslie's Covenanter army of 6000 men with only a tenth of that number.²¹ The confrontation, which took place in September 1645 in the Scottish Borders at Philiphaugh, caught Montrose unprepared, such that "the result was a massacre rather than a battle."²² Montrose himself evaded capture, and in 1646 he slipped away to mainland Europe, where he remained until 1650. In 1647, George Wishart's publication in Latin of Montrose's "year of victories" (1644-45) gained him an international reputation as a heroic figure.²³

Charles I was executed during Montrose's exile. Urging Charles II not to join in an alliance with the Covenanters, Montrose returned to Scotland in April 1650. His task was to raise an army for the new king in Scotland,²⁴ or at least to alarm the Covenanters into making concessions to Charles in a negotiated settlement.²⁵ Montrose's tiny force of men from Germany, Denmark, and Orkney was quickly crushed by a Covenanter force at

Carbisdale, following which he himself was betrayed and captured. Charles II, who did form an alliance with Argyll and his Covenanters, made no provision for Montrose's protection. In consequence, Montrose was executed in May 1650 in Edinburgh. He was sentenced to a slow death by being hanged for 3 hours, with Wishart's publication of his anti-Covenanter victories around his neck.²⁶ His final appearance saw him "verrie rychlie cled in fyne scarlet, layd over with riche silver lace," his sumptuous attire "moir beseiming a brydegrome, nor a criminall going to the gallowis"²⁷ (Fig. 7.4). Thereafter, his head was placed on a spike at the Old Tolbooth near St. Giles' Cathedral, while his



Fig. 7.4 Montrose makes his way to the gallows, richly clad in scarlet. Book illustration by J.R. Skelton.²⁸ The caption reads "The Marquis looked so handsome, grand, and grave that every one was full of sad astonishment."

limbs were distributed for exhibition in Glasgow, Stirling, Perth and Aberdeen. A family member arranged for Montrose's heart to be removed surreptitiously from his torso after its burial and to be sent – after embalming – to his son in the Netherlands.²⁹

As mentioned earlier, the restoration of Charles II in 1660 prompted the king to turn the tables on the Covenanters. In an upsurge of Royalist popular sentiment, Montrose was rehabilitated in a public ceremony in which his mangled corpse was disinterred and reunited with his head, heart and limbs, all of which were recalled from their various locations.³⁰ In 1661, he was given a splendid funeral and reburied in St. Giles' Cathedral, where his tomb can be viewed today (Fig. 7.5).

Relics of “The Great Montrose”

The Heart

Do all of Montrose's body parts currently rest in his tomb in St. Giles? With the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, “The embalmed heart was added to his bones and lay in state at Holyrood Abbey” until his reburial in 1661.³¹ “Yet myth would not accept



Fig. 7.5 Tomb of Montrose in St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh. Image by Christopher Thompson (Philadelphia), reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 2.0.³²

that his heart had had so quiet a fate, and elaborate stories emerged of its being taken by sea to India, stolen by an Indian prince, brought back to Europe by land, and disappearing in revolutionary France. As with Robert the Bruce, a heroic heart required an epic afterlife.”³³ Its putative wanderings are indeed reminiscent of those undertaken by King Robert’s heart, which in 1330 was carried to Spain by Sir James Douglas to participate in a campaign against the Moors.³⁴ Another well-travelled heart was that of King James I of Scotland, which was taken on pilgrimage to Jerusalem after his death at the hands of Sir Robert Graham in 1437 (Chapter 5). And, while the stories about Montrose’s heart are undeniably exotic, there is a growing realisation that they may well be true.³⁵ Accounts of its wanderings – which are largely consistent with one another – appeared intermittently in newspapers around the world during the 19th and 20th centuries. Typical of these are two reports, one published in New Zealand in 1891 and the other in Los Angeles in 1917. The earlier account reads:³⁶

After the execution of the great Marquis of Montrose, his heart was rescued and brought to his connexion, Lady Napier, who had it enclosed in a gold box, said to have been given by a Doge of Venice to the Napier who invented logarithms. This again was placed in a steel case which was kept in a silver urn. Of the silver urn history makes no more mention; but the steel case and the gold box containing the heart were sent by Lady Napier to the second Marquis of Montrose, who was then in Holland. There they disappeared, but came later into the possession of the fifth Lord Napier, who gave them to his daughter, Mrs. Johnston, the wife of a Madras civil servant. She, her husband, and a child, who afterwards became Sir Alexander Johnston, were on board an Indiaman when it was attacked off the Cape Verde Islands by a frigate belonging to the squadron of Suffren. Mrs. Johnston insisted on remaining on deck along with her husband, who, though a civilian, was fighting four guns there. She had in her hand a bag containing some of her most precious possessions, including the heart. The bag was carried away by a splinter, and dashed on the deck with so much violence that the delicate gold box was broken, though its steel case resisted the shock.

The Indiaman having made a stout resistance, the frigate was called off, and the Johnstons pursued their way to India. A goldsmith at Madura made a box as like the broken one as possible. This was placed in the steel case, and the whole enclosed in a silver urn, having upon it in Tamil and Telugu a brief abstract of the story of Montrose. The urn stood long on an ebony table in Mr. Johnston’s house known as the Tunkum, at Madura; thence it was stolen, and bought from the thieves by a Polygar [territorial governor] of those parts, who had no idea whence it came. Mr. Johnston’s son, afterwards Sir Alexander, went to stay with this man, became a great favourite of his, and told him that the urn had been stolen from his mother. The Polygar gave him the precious relic, and it returned with the family to Europe. They found themselves on the way to England at Calais in 1792. At that time no bullion was allowed to be exported from France. The urn with its contents was left in charge of an Englishwoman until that tyranny was overpast. She died, and the heart of Montrose has never again been heard of.

The 1917 account adds some details, as follows.³⁷ The steel cage was egg-shaped and made from the blade of Montrose’s sword. The relic, which had disappeared in Holland, was recovered years later in a Flanders curiosity shop. The frigate attacking the

Johnston's ship came from a French squadron, consistent with its attribution to Suffren. The Indians of Madura revered the relic as a talisman. The Polygar was the Nabob of Arcot, whose life was later saved by one of the Johnstons – presumably Sir Alexander. The Englishwoman in France who was entrusted with the relic lived in Boulogne; she lost it, and its whereabouts remained unknown at the time of the article's publication.

Exactly 100 years later, the never-ending story of the heart is reprised in an academic book chapter by Rachel Bennett from the University of Warwick. Her 2017 analysis identifies the primary source of the news stories – a letter from Sir Alexander Johnston to his daughters dated 1836, which was published in 1856 as an appendix to Napier's *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*.³⁸ From this,³⁹ we learn that the steel case of the original reliquary sat inside the gold filigree box, rather than *vice versa*. The Madurans' reverence for the relic was as a talisman that would protect its bearer in battle, which is why it was stolen and sold to the local chief. The latter was not the Nabob of Arcot (as reported in 1917) but a chieftain of his who later rebelled against the Nabob's sovereignty. For this he was sentenced to death; before being executed, he asked for his heart to be preserved in the same way as that of Montrose. The Englishwoman who lived in Boulogne was surnamed Knowles. From Bennett we also learn that the heart's story did not end in Revolutionary France, for she is able to extend the narrative up to the mid-20th century.⁴⁰ In 1931, Capt. H. Stuart Wheatley-Crowe, the president of the Royal Stuart Society, inherited an embalmed heart that was supposed to have been brought to England from France during the Revolution by the ancestors of the Perkins family, who claimed it was the heart of Montrose.⁴¹ A medical examination suggested that the preserved organ was indeed about 300 years old. In 1951, Capt. Wheatley-Crowe sent the heart (apart from a small piece that had become detached)⁴² to a Mrs. Maisie Armytage-Moore in Canada because he believed that she had the best claim to the relic.

Maisie – the great-granddaughter of Sir Alexander Johnston,⁴³ later to become Mrs. Maisie Hurley – was a larger-than-life individual whose character was fully in keeping with the surreal quality of the tale to date. She was described as “a beloved and eccentric woman who was the champion of British Columbia's Indians [i.e., indigenous peoples] and defender of things right. Her Indian name was Chief Sim-Klux, Mother of the Fin-Back Whales of the House of Gooksan.”⁴⁴ “The word colourful doesn't begin to describe Maisie. She loved boxing, smoked cigars, dressed in black, [...] walked with a cane [...] and] often used it;” she was even jailed briefly in 1955.⁴⁵ Maisie used her own money to start *Native Voice*, Canada's first Aboriginal newspaper, and advocated tirelessly for the rights of the country's First Nations. Equally, though, she “never forgot her aristocratic heritage [...] as a] direct descendant of the Scottish clans of Montrose and Argyll.”⁴⁶ When told that the heart of Montrose was on its way to her by air-mail, Maisie “wept with happiness [...] She said she would keep it with her always [...] she hoped to have it fashioned into some ‘convenient form’ so that she could ‘take it to the office with her.’”⁴⁷ News reports from the same month claim that Maisie “eventually hopes to place the heart with the other remains of the Scottish nobleman in St. Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh.”⁴⁸ But in a newspaper interview from late 1962, Maisie said that she was no longer sure that

the heart was that of Montrose, and wanted to end the controversy over the item's authenticity. A mortician had told her that "the heart appears to be an ancient human heart, enlarged and embalmed in the Egyptian manner with red lead and resin."⁴⁹ But, in case it really was the heart of Montrose after all, she wanted to fulfill the wish in his Metrical Prayer to have his ashes scattered in the air,⁵⁰ and hoped to do so over Scottish soil. To this end, she planned to cremate the heart in Vancouver.⁵¹ But did she follow through? Maisie died two years later, aged 76.⁵² The only mention of the heart since then comes from her great-granddaughter Kerrie.⁵³ In 2007, Kerrie recalls playing with the heart as a child, and remembers being horrified when it fell into two pieces. She was very upset until she learned that "a bullet had apparently split it in half in its travels to Vancouver"⁵⁴ – an inexplicable coda to an already bizarre tale.

In 2012, the embalmed heart of Montrose went on temporary display at the Montrose Museum.⁵⁵ Or, to be more precise, *one* of his hearts did, since two specimens contended for this singular honour.⁵⁶ In an interview about the exhibition (a quatercentenary commemoration that will be described more fully below) the museum's curator, Rachel Benvie, said "There are two known hearts of Montrose and we have managed to locate a[nd] display one of them. I was a little bit sceptical when I first saw it. It is maybe slightly larger than a normal human heart but the process of embalming could well influence that, and it is human. And anyway I do feel it is right that the Marquis of Montrose should have a larger heart than other people."⁵⁷ In her 2017 analysis, Rachel Bennett comments that it is unclear whether the item exhibited in 2012 was the same heart that had been sent to Canada in 1951.⁵⁸ News reports claiming that the exhibited heart travelled some 500 miles from its home to the Montrose Museum suggest that it was sourced from within Britain rather than overseas.⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it was indeed the Canadian heart, for the text in the panel that accompanied the exhibit fills in the blanks in our narrative. "Although Mrs. Hurley's intention was that the heart should be cremated this never happened, and it is now back in the safe-keeping of her nephew" in England. An online photograph of "the heart of Montrose" behind protective glass shows this item at the 2012 exhibition.⁶⁰ There is a circular trough in the external wall of the left ventricle; this small loss may well correspond to the "detached portion" retained in 1951 by Capt. Wheatley-Crowe.

The original reliquary made for Lady Elizabeth Napier consisted of a series of nested containers: a silver urn, which contained a gold filigree box, which contained a steel case, which contained the heart itself.⁶¹ Since the urn was large – its size may be estimated from a portrait in which it appears beside Lady Elizabeth⁶² – the heart at that time may have been complete.⁶³ But it was evidently far from whole after the relic's extended (mis)adventures in the Netherlands, on the high seas and in India. A careful reading of the primary document underpinning the "Heart of Montrose" saga – Sir Alexander Johnston's letter of 1856 – makes this clear. At the end of his missive, Sir Alexander describes in detail the heart and its reliquary in the form in which it was left in France in 1792, so that the treasure might be recognised in case it should ever come to light. "As I frequently opened the urn, the new filigree box, and the steel case [...] I will give you,

from my own recollection, some account of the appearance of the [...] steel case and its contents. The steel case was of the size and shape of an egg. It was opened by pressing down a little knob, as is done in opening a watch-case. Inside was a parcel, supposed to contain all that remained of Montrose's heart, wrapped up in a piece of coarse cloth, and done over with a substance like glue." From this it is clear that the heart was no longer the entire organ but a piece of cardiac tissue small enough to fit inside a container no larger than a hen's egg; the fragment was also sealed inside a cloth wrapping. These points distinguish it from the unshrouded intact heart inherited by Capt. Wheatley-Crowe in 1931, which was forwarded to Maisie Armytage-Moore / Hurley in Canada and exhibited at Montrose in 2012. This exposed, enlarged and essentially complete heart is incompatible with Sir Alexander's description.

No information is publicly available about the *other* contender for the heart of Montrose. Unless it and its containers miraculously match Sir Alexander's description, we must conclude that the relic he described so carefully – which may well have been genuine – was in fact lost forever in Revolutionary France.

The forearm and hand

Montrose's left arm, which had been displayed in Aberdeen, was retrieved in 1661 and was presumably buried with his torso in St. Giles' Cathedral.⁶⁴ His right arm, which had been nailed up above the principal town gate of Dundee, was not retrieved for the funeral. It was subsequently taken to England by a Cromwellian officer named Pickering.⁶⁵ In 1704, one of Pickering's descendants placed the withered limb in Ralph Thoresby's antiquarian collection in Leeds; Thoresby's catalogue of 1712 says "But the most noted of all the Humane Curiosities is the Hand and Arm cut off at the Elbow, positively asserted to be that of the celebrated Marquis of Montrose, whose Quarters were disposed of to several cities of Scotland, whence this was brought. It hath never been interred, has a severe wound in the wrist, and seems really to have been the very hand that wrote the famous Epitaph (*Great, Good, and Just*) for K. Charles I., in whose cause he suffered."⁶⁶ In 1725, the arm was bought by Thomas Graham of Woodhall in Yorkshire and, in 1752, had been inherited by John Graham of Woodhall. Thereafter it passed into the possession of Charles Reeves, also of Woodhall, from whose family it was purchased in 1891 by John W. Morkill.⁶⁷ Late in 1896, Morkill described the relic to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and his paper – which contains photographs of the specimen (Fig. 7.6, left & centre) – appeared in due course in the Society's *Proceedings*.⁶⁸ In this, Morkill notes that "The limb is in a mummified condition, and has evidently never been interred: a hole through the centre of the hand, and a second one through the fleshy part of the arm near the elbow, suggest that it has been fastened by two nails. Two joints of the forefinger which are missing, were stolen by a person to whom it was exhibited some years ago."⁶⁹ Presumably the nail-holes relate to the arm's initial mounting above the town gate of Dundee.



Fig. 7.6 Preserved arm and sword of Montrose. Left and centre (numbered 1 & 2, respectively, in figure): “Back and front view of hand and forearm.” Right (numbered 3 in figure): “Sword showing shield with arms of Montrose.”⁷⁰

In 1925, Morkill attempted to auction the relic at Sotheby's, but its sale was thwarted by public outcry. In 1932 it was inherited by Morkill's son, Alan G. Morkill, after which "the arm disappeared from the historical record."⁷¹ Alan Morkill died in Birmingham in 1987,⁷² seemingly without children.⁷³ Rachel Bennett concludes that "despite the uncertainty of its final destination, the journey of the arm across almost three centuries demonstrates that people considered it to be a powerful curio as it was a tactile memento of the great Montrose worth possessing, and because the stories about it generated a sense of authenticity."⁷⁴ Its disappearance – so frustratingly recent – also denies the possibility of retrieving DNA from the bone for Y-haplogroup testing, a study that might have helped to verify its authenticity and enhanced our understanding of the genetic genealogy of the Graham family in Scotland (Chapter 2).

The swords

Morkill's 1896/7 paper on the relic of Montrose's arm also described a basket-hilted sword attributed to Montrose (Fig. 7.6, right) – bought, along with the arm, from Charles Reeves of Woodhall.⁷⁵ It is now in the collection of the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow.⁷⁶ As is typical for such swords, the blade was imported from Europe while the hilt was made locally in Scotland. This sword's blade, which is double-edged with a double groove down the centre, is older than the hilt, having been made by Herman Keisser, a German armourer, in 1570. In addition to the maker's markings, the blade bears the arms of the Marquis of Montrose damascened in gold.⁷⁷ The hilt of the sword is unusually small.⁷⁸ It was made by John Simpson the Elder, a Glaswegian armourer; his initials (IS) are incised somewhat crudely on the knuckle bow.⁷⁹ Simpson was admitted to the Incorporation of Hammermen of Glasgow in 1683 and became the King's Armourer in Scotland in 1715.⁸⁰ The style of the hilt suggests it was made *ca.* 1700.⁸¹ Thus the blade of this sword predates the birth of the 1st Marquis, while its hilt probably dates to after his death.

The Montrose Collection at the Montrose Museum contains a basket-hilted broadsword and another sword said to have belonged to Montrose, whose name is inscribed upon the hilt.⁸² A further sword, said to have been presented to Montrose by Charles I, formed part of the collection of Sir Walter Scott.⁸³ Relative to his other acquisitions, it was considered "as perhaps the most precious in Sir Walter's collection."⁸⁴ The sword measures about 34 in (86 cm) in length. The blade is straight, two-edged and beautifully ornamented; the hilt has open scroll work and silver gilt; the grip is bound with alternate chains of silver and flat bands of gold (Fig. 7.7, upper). On both sides of the blade are the Royal Arms of Great Britain, and on one side is the Latin inscription: JACOBE ALUMNE PACIS ATK PALLAE / SERENE CULTOR ET DECUS BRITANNICI / CLARISSIMUM REGNI TUIS REGALIB / SCEPTRIS SUBEST DE STIRPE QUOND MARTIA (Fig. 7.7, lower).⁸⁵ This translates as "James, protégé of Pax and Pallas, / fair nurturer and glory of Britannia, / the most renowned one of the realm, he to your royal / authority is obedient, sprung in former times from Mars."⁸⁶ Pax and Mars are the Roman goddess of peace and god of war, respectively; Pallas [Athena] is the Greek goddess of war and wisdom.



Fig. 7.7 Sword of Montrose in Sir Walter Scott's collection.⁸⁷ Upper: Grip, hilt and base of blade, crossed with scabbard. Lower: Arms and inscriptions, shown at 2x magnification relative to the upper image.

Legacy of “The Great Montrose”

So much has been written about Montrose that it is difficult to know where to start, and even more difficult to know where to stop. That said, the end of his entry in *Who’s Who in British History* encapsulates Montrose’s character and legacy well:⁸⁸

To later generations Montrose has appeared the most attractive of all the Cavaliers, the man, as Clarendon wrote, of “clearest spirit and honour” among the royal advisers. Even more than most supporters of the Stuarts, he was ill-served by his kings: Charles I failed to make effective use of his gifts, Charles II left him to the mercy of his enemies. Politically naive, utterly outmaneuvered by the more subtle Argyll in the years 1637-41, he was essentially an aristocratic man of action. More gracious and more sensitive than his fellow nobles, and capable – as most of them were not – of total self-sacrifice to a cause, he proved to be a fine soldier and superb leader of men. He fought in extraordinary conditions, with tiny forces of wild troops in primitive country, and although these conditions throw into sharp relief the brilliance of his strategical insight and the startling flexibility of his tactics, they make comparison with Rupert or Cromwell unprofitable.

[...] At no time did he win much support from Lowlanders [...] To them he was a man who had let loose Irish barbarians, killed some thousands of his fellow countrymen, and sacked Aberdeen and Dundee – a notably unromantic figure for whose summary execution there was a strong case. Nevertheless, when every reservation is made, the tale of Montrose will always retain the quality of an epic.

Equally poignant is the conclusion to his entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, which follows the general observation that he tended to attribute his victories to himself alone:⁸⁹

It was, however, [his] egotism that enabled Montrose to achieve what he did. His intensity of self-belief drove him on. In comparing himself to biblical and classical heroes, the fact that he fought in an obscure war in one corner of Britain did not dismay him, nor did the fact that the battles he fought were tiny in scale. It was striving for the all but impossible by the exceptional individual that brought renown, and ultimate failure was not disgrace if he had acted heroically. The fascination with which the story of his brief flash of glory has been told and read down the generations is an indication of the power of this vision.

From this, it follows that Montrose’s life has inspired many literary creations. Of these, one of the best known lies among the traditional poems collected by Sir Walter Scott for his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*. Amongst the Historical Ballads, a song of triumph at Montrose’s defeat by Leslie – “The Battle of Philiphaugh”⁹⁰ – is followed by “The Gallant Grahams,” a lament for Montrose and for all of the fallen or exiled Grahams. Although this poem makes an early reference to William Wallace and Sir John Graham of Dundaff (Chapter 3), its true focus is Montrose. It seems to be set in the mouth of a female narrator.⁹¹ Scott clearly does not think much of the composition, describing its author as “some lowly bard” and judging the “indifferent” poem as “far unworthy of the

subject.”⁹² While its chronology of Montrose’s career is not remotely complete nor entirely sequential, the narrative does at least attempt to recount key events.⁹³ Designed to be sung to the tune of “I will away, and I will not tarry,”⁹⁴ the ballad reads:⁹⁵

Now, fare thee weel, sweet Ennerdale!
Baith kith and countrie I bid adieu;
For I maun away, and I may not stay,
To some uncouth land which I never knew.

To wear the blue I think it best.
Of all the colours that I see;
And I’ll wear it for the gallant Grahams,
That are banished from their countrie.

I have no gold, I have no land,
I have no pearl, nor precious stane;
But I wald sell my silken snood,
To see the gallant Grahams come hame.

In Wallace days when they began,
Sir John the Graham did bear the gree
Through all the lands of Scotland wide;
He was a lord of the south countrie.

And so was seen full many a time;
For the summer flowers did never spring,
But every Graham, in armour bright.
Would then appear before the King.

They all were dressed in armour sheen.
Upon the pleasant banks of Tay;
Before a king they might be seen.
These gallant Grahams in their array.

At the Goukhead our camp we set.
Our leaguer down there for to lay;
And, in the bonnie summer light.
We rode our white horse and our gray.

Our false commander sold our King
Unto his deadlyemie.
Who was the traitor Cromwell, then;
So I care not what they do with me.

They have betrayed our noble prince,
And banish’d him from his royal crown;
But the gallant Grahams have ta’en in hand.
For to command those traitors down.

In Glen-Prosen we rendezvoused,
March’d to Glenshie by night and day,
And took the town of Aberdeen,
And met the Campbells in their array.

Five thousand men, in armour strong,
Did meet the gallant Grahams that day
At Inverlochie where war began,
And scarce two thousand men were they.

Gallant Montrose, that chieftain bold,
Courageous in the best degree,
Did for the king fight well that day;
The lord preserve his majestie!

[2 verses omitted]

Now, fare ye weel, sweet Ennerdale!
Countrie and kin I quit ye free;
Cheer up your hearts, brave cavaliers.
For the Grahams are gone to High Germany.

Now brave Montrose he went to France,
And to Germany, to gather fame;
And bold Aboyne is to the sea.
Young Huntly is his noble name.

Montrose again, that chieftain bold,
Back unto Scotland fair he came,
For to redeem fair Scotland's land,
The pleasant, gallant, worthy Graham!

At the water of Carron he did begin,
And fought the battle to the end;
Where there were killed, for our noble King.
Two thousand of our Danish men.

Gilbert Menzies, of high degree,
By whom the King's banner was borne;
For a brave cavalier was he,
But now to glory he is gone.

Then woe to Strachan, and Hacket baith!
And, Lesly, ill death may thou die!
For ye have betrayed the gallant Grahams,
Who aye were true to majestie.

And the laird of Assint has seized Montrose,
And had him into Edinburgh town;
And frae his body taken the head.
And quartered him upon a trone.

And Huntly's gone the self-same way,
And our noble King is also gone;
He suffered death for our nation,
Our mourning tears can ne'er be done.

But our brave young King is now come home,
King Charles the Second in degree;
The Lord send peace into his time.
And God preserve his majestie!

Montrose's life has inspired much prose, poetry and song, but he was also a poet in his own right. Some thirteen poems are attributed to him.⁹⁶ His best-known work is probably the political love poem "I'll Never Love Thee More," composed *ca.* 1642-43 for his wife, Magdalene Carnegie – a curious cross-genre work in which his political outlook, aversion to compromise and attachment to monarchy seem to impose conditions on his affection for his partner. The following excerpt provides the first four of its eighteen verses:⁹⁷

My dear and only Love, I pray
That little world of thee
Be govern'd by no other sway
Than purest monarchy;
For if confusion have a part
(Which virtuous souls abhor),
And hold a synod in thine heart,
I'll never love thee more.

Like Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone;
My thoughts did evermore disdain
A rival on my throne.
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That dares not put it to the touch,
To gain or lose it all.

And in the empire of thine heart,
Where I should solely be,
If others do pretend a part
Or dare to vie with me,
Or if Committees thou erect,
And go on such a score,
I'll laugh and sing at thy neglect,
And never love thee more.

But if thou wilt prove faithful then,
And constant of thy word,
I'll make thee glorious by my pen
And famous by my sword;
I'll serve thee in such noble ways
Was never heard before;
I'll crown and deck thee all with bays,
And love thee more and more.

The poem has of course been set to music, featuring as Song 452 in Vol. 5 of the *Scots Musical Museum* – the most important of the numerous 18/19th-century collections of Scottish song, and an enterprise on which Robert Burns worked as song collector, composer and editor.⁹⁸ In June 1946, the second half of the second stanza – “He either fears his fate too much ... to gain or lose it all” – was quoted by Field Marshal Montgomery in an address intended to rally Allied troops immediately before D-Day.⁹⁹

In the present day, historical interest in the flamboyant “Great Montrose” (Fig. 7.8) is furthered by The 1st Marquis of Montrose Society.¹⁰⁰ In 1978, a 15-minute performance of a song titled “Montrose” was recorded by Steeleye Span for their *Live at Last* album;¹⁰¹ it works chronologically through Montrose’s career and makes use of his own words (from “I’ll Never Love Thee More”) in some verses and for the chorus. Another song titled “Montrose” was recorded in 1988 by the Battlefield Band for their album *On The Rise*.¹⁰² In 2012, the 400th anniversary of Montrose’s birth was marked by a memorial service at St. Giles’ Cathedral,¹⁰³ as well as a major exhibition – titled “To Win or Lose it All” – at the Montrose Museum.¹⁰⁴

Above, the posthumous peregrinations of Montrose’s heart prompted a comparison with those of King James I’s heart some two centuries earlier. Comparisons have also been drawn between Montrose’s trajectory and that of Oliver Plunkett, one-time Roman Catholic Primate of All Ireland, who was executed in 1681, exhumed in 1683 to be taken on “a journey of spiritual rehabilitation across Europe,” and canonised three centuries later, in 1975.¹⁰⁵ But perhaps the most famous personality that the epic of Montrose calls to mind is Joan of Arc, whose military campaign for France provided the setting for Chapter 4. Both individuals were religiously-inspired warriors who dedicated their lives to championing kings that did not deserve them. Both achieved rapid and seemingly miraculous victories; once captured, both were quickly forsaken by the monarchs for whom they had fought so bravely;¹⁰⁶ both retained their belief in themselves, their kings and their divinely-mandated missions under extreme duress;¹⁰⁷ and both suffered agonisingly slow public deaths at executions that elicited sympathy from the spectators.¹⁰⁸ Others have already noted some of these parallels; in 1906, Andrew Lang wrote that, following Joan’s capture,¹⁰⁹

... the French King and his subjects should have paid Joan’s ransom at once or rescued her by force of arms. But not a coin was paid, and not a sword was drawn to ransom or to rescue her. The people who advised the King had never liked her, and now the King left her to her fate. She could have taken a bitter revenge on him, if she had chosen to tell tales; but she was loyal to the last, like Montrose to Charles II.

When Joan was burnt at the stake in 1431, her heart allegedly was spared by the flames, although its posthumous journey did not extend beyond being dumped in the Seine with her ashes.¹¹⁰



Fig. 7.8 Statue of Montrose in the town of Montrose, Scotland. Image by Nick Birse, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 4.0.¹¹¹

By 1456, the military and political tables in France had turned; with Charles VII secure on the throne of France, and Rouen and Paris in his hands, the scene was set for the rescue of Joan's reputation. This time, it was Joan's former accusers and executioners who stood condemned;¹¹² her Tribunal of Rehabilitation was "a collective catharsis staged at the national level, in which not only Joan but the entire French populace achieved redemption."¹¹³ Similarly, the Restoration of Charles II to the English throne in 1660 gave rise to "a wave of Royalist sentiment, and the martyred Montrose was used to propagate the themes of loyalty and sacrifice."¹¹⁴ Like Joan's Tribunal, Montrose's lavish funeral in 1661 can be seen as an exorcism of national guilt and a royal gesture of reconciliation and unity. In the words of Rachel Bennett:¹¹⁵

If we examine the great number of nobles and gentry who were present for the whole spectacle, it becomes clear that it brought together Montrose's friends and foes. This demonstrates that the Restoration regime intended the spectacle to act as a vehicle to propagate the value of loyalty and to show its strength after a generation of civil wars.

Indeed, "Because of its political currency, Montrose's story was told and retold by Scottish Royalists into the eighteenth century and beyond."¹¹⁶ Bennett, recalling Wishart's description of Montrose as "a candidate for immortality,"¹¹⁷ observed in 2017 that "he was not, and perhaps is not yet, truly dead;"¹¹⁸ the final question in her analysis is "Will Montrose ever die?"¹¹⁹

Sir John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee¹²⁰

John Graham, the elder son of Sir William Graham of Claverhouse, inherited his father's title in 1653, while he was still a young child (Fig. 7.9). He graduated from the University of St. Andrews in 1661. In 1688, he was raised to the Scottish peerage by Charles II as Viscount of Dundee and Lord Grahame of Claverhouse (Fig. 7.10).

Between 1672 and 1674 Claverhouse served abroad, fighting with the Duke of Monmouth on behalf of the French against William of Orange. With the cessation of Anglo-Dutch hostilities in 1674, he switched sides and fought in Prince William's own company of guards. On his return to Scotland in 1678, Claverhouse was appointed – on the recommendation of James, the brother of King Charles II – as captain of one of three companies of horse that were tasked with suppressing Covenanter unrest in south-west Scotland. Claverhouse's patrols were primarily concerned with preventing and dispersing conventicles in the south-west of Dumfriesshire and Annandale (Fig. 7.11).

In May 1679, Covenanter resistance spilled over into open rebellion; Archbishop Sharp was murdered and anti-Covenant acts of parliament were burnt in public. In attempting to suppress a conventicle on 1 June, Claverhouse found his dragoons outnumbered two-to-one by Covenanters who – although poorly armed – were expertly led by William

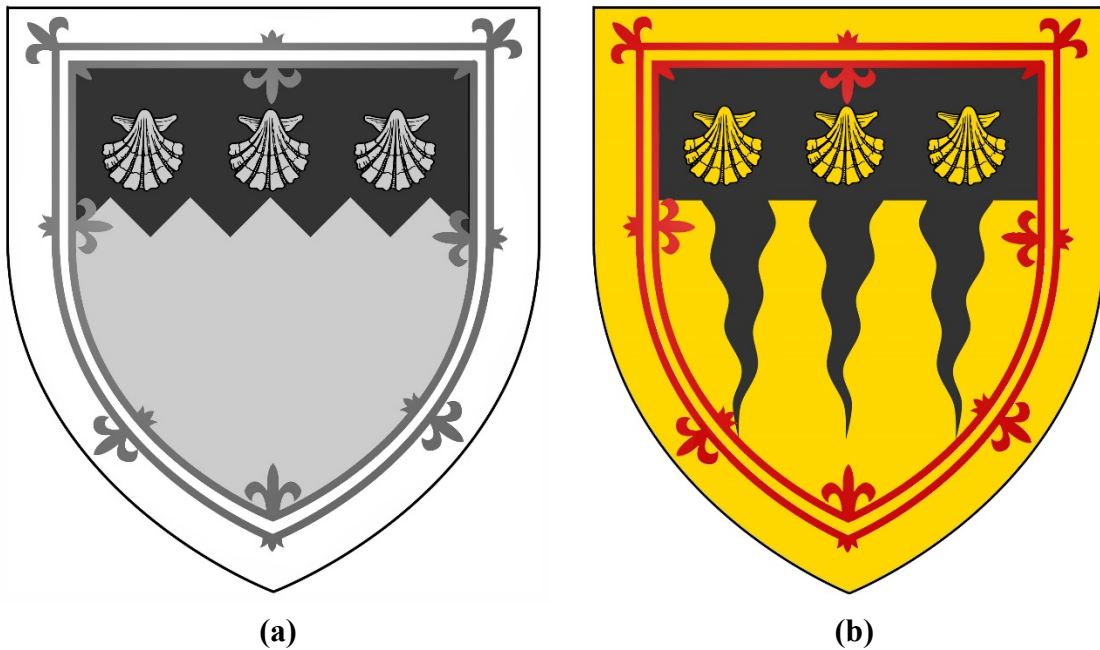


Fig. 7.9 Arms of John Graham of Claverhouse, 1st Viscount Dundee. **(a)** Seal according to SAS1146: “On a chief dancetty, three escallops, all within a double tressure flory counterflory.”¹²¹ **(b)** Arms as given by Nisbet: “Or, three piles wavy sable charged with three escallops or.”¹²² Bruce McAndrew comments that Nisbet’s version “would seem more logical, since the senior Fintry line was still flourishing.”¹²³

Cleland. The ensuing battle at Drumclog was to be Claverhouse’s only defeat (Fig. 7.12). After the skirmish, the remnant of his troop was absorbed into the Duke of Monmouth’s army.

Between 1679 and 1682 Claverhouse grew close to James, the brother of Charles II, who was now the High Commissioner for Scotland. He was granted additional titles in south-west Scotland and stationed a permanent garrison of 100 dragoons there. He offered amnesty to Covenanters who were willing to resume attending church services but dealt harshly with those who continued to rebel. This strategy proved successful in pacifying the Galloway region but brought Claverhouse into conflict with the Dalrymples, a powerful local laird and his son. Claverhouse, clearly very much in favour with James, emerged victorious from a legal battle with the Dalrymple family and was appointed colonel of a newly-formed royal horse regiment. In 1683 the Privy Council tasked him with duties in the Circuit Court. The following year he married Jean Cochrane, a girl from a staunch Covenanter family – a move that saw him later accused of being too soft against rebels in Ayrshire.

It was at this time – 1684 – that unrest broke out once more in south-west Scotland. In the words of Magnus Linklater, “These incidents mark the beginning of a period



(a)



(b)



(c)



(d)

Fig. 7.10 Portraits of Claverhouse. (a) Unknown artist, *ca.* 1675. Oil on canvas.¹²⁴ (b) Portrait by Peter Lely, 1648-80 (detail). Oil on canvas.¹²⁵ (c) Portrait by John Alexander, 1732. Oil on canvas.¹²⁶ (d) Unknown artist, 1690-1800 (detail). Oil on canvas.¹²⁷



Fig. 7.11 “The Covenanters’ Preaching.” Portrait of a conventicle by George Harvey, *ca.* 1830. Oil on panel.¹²⁸

sometimes known as the ‘killing time’, with which Claverhouse’s name, in the form of ‘bluidy Clavers’, has long been associated. According to some historians of the covenant he was the principal protagonist in imposing a brutal regime, which involved summary execution, torture, imprisonment, and banishment. [...] These accounts are grossly exaggerated.”¹²⁹ He was, however, zealous in his duties, and seems to have been instrumental in three separate executions.

In 1685, James succeeded his brother Charles as king. A period of relative peace for Claverhouse ended in late 1688 with the arrival of William of Orange in Torbay, a development that saw the former elevated to the rank of Viscount Dundee. When Scotland’s Convention decided to back William over James, Claverhouse – whose sympathies were entirely contrary – found himself identified as both “fugitive and rebel,”¹³⁰ with a large bounty on his head. In 1689 he travelled through the highlands gathering support for the Jacobite cause, taking Perth and approaching – but not attacking – the city of Dundee. His force, which numbered fewer than 2000 men, was opposed (on behalf of William) by a Scottish army of comparable magnitude led by Hugh Mackay.



Fig. 7.12 “Drumclog.” Painting of the Battle of Drumclog (in which Claverhouse was defeated) by George Harvey, 1836. Oil on panel.¹³¹

Conflict was limited to light skirmishes until the pitched battle at Killiecrankie on 27 July, 1689. Killiecrankie proved an overwhelming victory for the Jacobites, but the highlanders lost many of their clan leaders and their general as well. Claverhouse, who had been struck in the left side by a bullet, died on the battlefield; in contrast, Mackay retreated unscathed with some two-thirds of his army. Leadership of the Jacobite force passed to Colonel Cannon, who was unable to fill Claverhouse’s shoes; three weeks later, the rebels were defeated at Dunkeld by a small force of Cameronians. With this, the first Jacobite Rising came to an end.

Legends and relics of Claverhouse

In 1689, when he began to gather forces for the Jacobite rising, Claverhouse is reputed to have told the Duke of Gordon that he would go “Wherever the spirit of Montrose shall direct me.”¹³² Like Montrose – the erstwhile Covenanter who turned against the Kirk – some of Claverhouse’s allegiances shifted over time as circumstances changed. For example, he began by fighting against Prince William of Orange (1672), then joined William’s army (1674) – where legend has it that he saved the prince’s life¹³³ – and ultimately met his death in a battle against forces loyal to the same man (1689), who by then had become William III of England and William II of Scotland.

In other respects, too, Claverhouse was a complex character. Even a resolute Jacobite like Sir Walter Scott had some reservations about him – witness, for example, the opening lines of his appraisal of the Viscount in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802-30).¹³⁴

In truth, he appears to have combined the virtues and vices of a savage chief. Fierce, unbending, and rigorous, no emotion of compassion prevented his commanding and witnessing every detail of military execution against the non-conformists. Undauntedly brave, and steadily faithful to his prince, he sacrificed himself in the cause of James, when he was deserted by all the world. If we add, to these attributes, a goodly person, complete skill in martial exercises, and that ready and decisive character, so essential to a commander, we may form some idea of this extraordinary character.

While historians such as T.B. Macaulay (d. 1859) took pains to perpetuate Covenanter and anti-Jacobite propaganda against Claverhouse, the careful analyses of Mark Napier (d. 1879) have done much to rehabilitate his memory.¹³⁵ Nevertheless, Claverhouse's reputation as a brutal thug persists to this day. For example, his entry in *Who's Who in British History* (1998) reads in part: "Pious, stern and blood-thirsty [...] His policy was one of disciplined terror, with little heed to legal niceties; ringleaders were summarily executed, lesser folk thrust into prison by the hundred."¹³⁶

Myths were apt to accrete around successful and much-feared soldiers of the 17th century, and Claverhouse was no exception. Thus Sir Walter Scott, writing in the early 19th century, was able to state that:

It is still believed that a cup of wine, presented to him by his butler, changed into clotted blood; and that, when he plunged his feet into cold water, their touch caused it to boil. The steed, which bore him, was supposed to be the gift of Satan; and precipices are shown, where a fox could hardly keep his feet, down which the infernal charger conveyed him safely.

During his life, the belief arose among Claverhouse's opponents that he was invulnerable to lead bullets as a result of him having made a pact with the Devil. In the midst of describing a skirmish, Scott mentions it thus:¹³⁷

The object of aim to every one, he [i.e., Claverhouse] seemed as if he were impassive to their shot. The superstitious fanatics, who looked upon him as a man gifted by the Evil Spirit with supernatural means of defence, averred that they saw the bullets recoil from his jack-boots and buff-coat like hailstones from a rock of granite, as he galloped to and fro amid the storm of the battle. Many a whig that day loaded his musket with a dollar cut into slugs, in order that a silver bullet (such was their belief) might bring down the persecutor of the holy kirk, on whom lead had no power. "Try him with cold steel," was the cry at every renewed charge – "powder is wasted on him. Ye might as weel shoot at the Auld Enemy himsell."

At the time, such invincibility was thought to be conferred by a "waistcoat of proof." To make such a garment, "On Christmas dai, at night, a thread must be sponne of flax, by a

little virgine girle, in the name of the divell; and it must be by her woven” to form an under-jacket which she embroiders with two heads and two crosses.¹³⁸ In a footnote to his description of the skirmish, Scott elaborates on the theme of Claverhouse’s supposed invincibility and a popular myth attending his demise:¹³⁹

The belief of the Covenanters that their principal enemies, and Claverhouse in particular, had obtained from the Devil a charm which rendered them proof against leaden bullets, led them to pervert even the circumstances of his death. Howie of Lochgoin, after giving some account of the battle of Killiecrankie, adds: “The battle was very bloody, and by Mackay’s third fire, Claverhouse fell, of which historians give little account; but it has been said for certain, that his own waiting-servant, taking a resolution to rid the world of this truculent bloody monster, and knowing that he had proof of [i.e., was impervious to] lead, shot him with a silver button that he had before taken off his [i.e., Claverhouse’s] own coat for that purpose. However, he fell, and with him Popery, and King James’s interest in Scotland.

As he lay dying, Claverhouse reputedly asked the soldier attending him “How goes the day?”, to which the latter replied, “Well for the King, but I am sorry for your Lordship.” Claverhouse’s response was typically stoic: “It is the less matter for me, seeing that the day goes well for my master.”¹⁴⁰

Claverhouse was buried in a vault at St. Bride’s church in Blair Atholl (Fig. 7.13). His armour and some of his clothes were supposedly later recovered by his brother. Local lore says that Claverhouse’s vault was opened a century after his burial to retrieve his armour, which was then sold to merchants but – fortunately – recovered at a later date.¹⁴¹ Sir Walter Scott recorded that, in his day, “Claverhouse’s sword (a straight cut-and-thrust blade) is in the possession of Lord Woodhouselee. In Pennycuik-house is preserved the buff-coat, which he wore at the battle of Killiecrankie. The fatal shot-hole is under the arm-pit, so that the ball must have been received while his arm was raised to direct the pursuit.”¹⁴² Scott himself owned a “fine old Highland pistol” that had reportedly belonged to Claverhouse (Fig. 7.14).¹⁴³

Today the breastplate can be seen at Blair Castle; on the instructions of the 4th Duke of Atholl (d. 1830), a fake hole was drilled in the centre of it to make the battle-damage look more impressive (Fig. 7.15).¹⁴⁴ Recent colour photographs of the armour may be viewed online.¹⁴⁵ A pair of kid leather gloves said to have been worn by Claverhouse is held by the National Museums of Scotland, and may also be viewed online.¹⁴⁶ The cuffs are embroidered with silver wire thread.

Literary legacy of Claverhouse

As with Montrose, much has been written about Claverhouse. The latter has proven the more divisive figure, being simultaneously vilified as “Bluidy Clavers” by writers with



Fig. 7.13 Crypt containing the tomb of Claverhouse, St. Bride's Kirk at Old Blair. Photo (7 Aug, 2009) by Ronnie Leask, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 2.0.¹⁴⁷



Fig. 7.14 Pistol attributed to Claverhouse in Sir Walter Scott's collection. Book illustration.¹⁴⁸

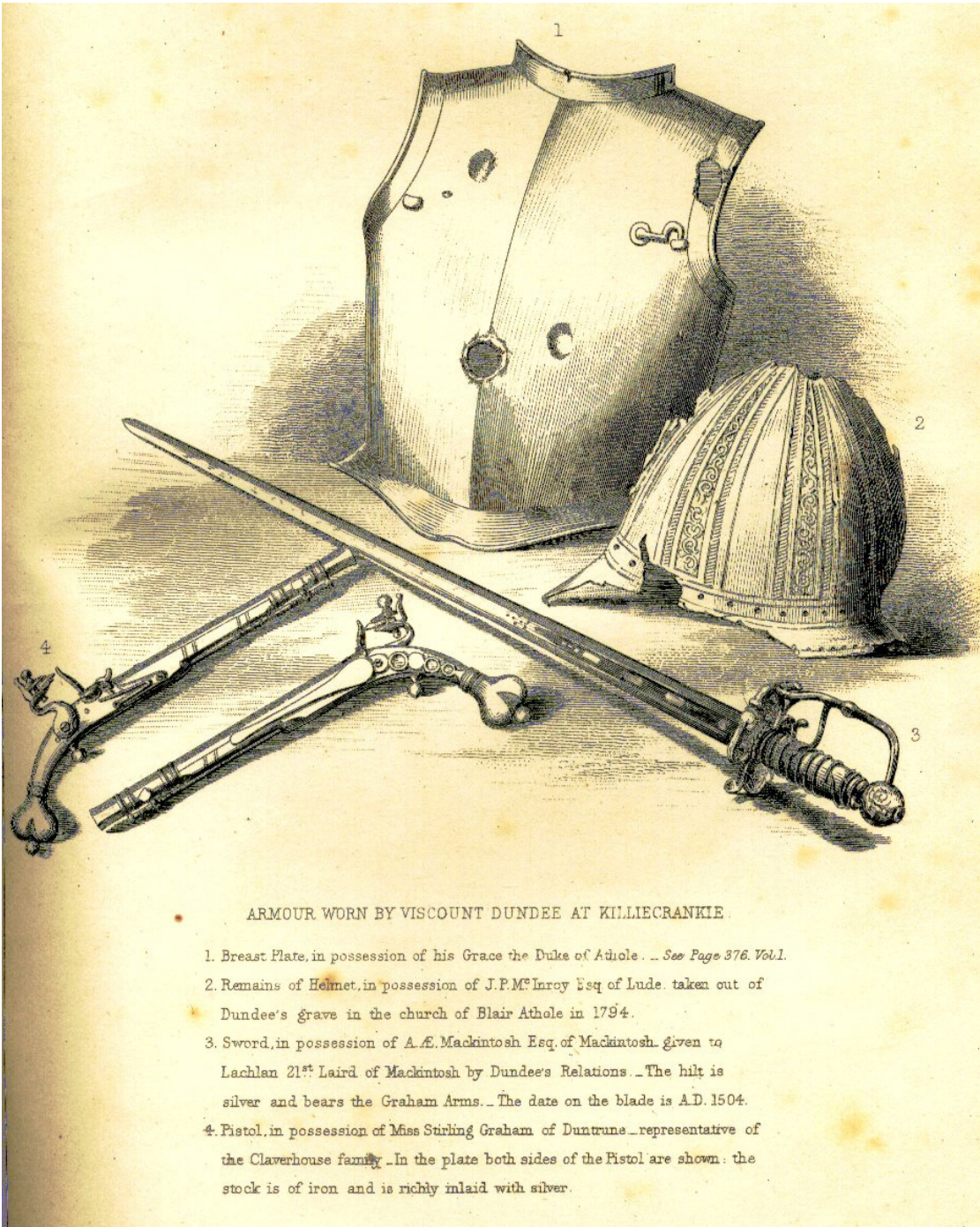


Fig. 7.15 Engraving (1885) of the armour worn by Claverhouse at the Battle of Killiecrankie.¹⁴⁹

Covenanter sympathies and celebrated as “Bonnie Dundee” by royalists with Jacobite leanings. Writing for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Magnus Linklater summarises his schizophrenic legacy well.¹⁵⁰

Dundee’s reputation as a military commander rests on his brilliant campaigning skills, the loyalty he engendered among the highland clansmen, and his victory at Killiecrankie. His qualities of leadership and his youthful good looks meant that to his supporters, and to historians of the romantic school, he was celebrated as Bonnie Dundee. But his earlier military career in the west of Scotland is seen in a very different light; there he is still remembered as bluidy Clavers. Sir Walter Scott did much to reinforce the image of Dundee as a vengeful persecutor in his novel *Old Mortality*; while Lord Macaulay described him as: ‘Rapacious and profane, of violent temper and obdurate heart, [he] has left a name which, wherever the Scottish race is settled on the face of the globe, is mentioned with a peculiar energy of hatred’ (Macaulay, 498). Later historians have presented a more balanced picture, and it would be fair to say that close study of his life reveals a man guided rather by obedience to an unsatisfactory monarch than by any notably vindictive qualities. [...] Dundee’s letters are studded with references to the royal service, the importance of discipline and good order, and his abhorrence of lawlessness. [...] The fact that his dedication [to King James] was to drive him, against all his soldierly instincts, into open revolution, makes him at once an intriguing and courageous human being.

Amongst poetry about Claverhouse, two partisan pieces – both in favour of our protagonist – deserve special mention: an extraordinary Latin epic known as the *Grameid*, and Sir Walter Scott’s well-known poem and song, “Bonnie Dundee.” Each will be considered in turn.

The Grameid

Within just two years of his death, the supposedly unkillable Claverhouse had been awarded a new form of immortality – this time in verse. As Aeneas is to the *Aeneid*, so is this Graham to the *Grameid* – “the last neo-Latin epic to be written in the British Isles and ‘the first great work of Jacobite literature.’”¹⁵¹ Written in 1691, James Philip’s ambitious epic occupies six books and runs to an astounding 3895 lines of Latin verse.¹⁵² Despite its length, the poem breaks off (just 55 lines into Book VI) before the climactic battle at Killiecrankie has been recounted; accordingly, it seems either to be unfinished or incompletely preserved.¹⁵³ The original autograph has survived, along with several manuscript copies of later date.¹⁵⁴ A print edition, with extensive preface and English synopsis, was published in 1888 by Alexander Murdoch.¹⁵⁵ The poet’s surname is variously rendered as Philp, Philpe or (in the print edition) Philip.¹⁵⁶

Who was this archaising bard? Philip’s mother – Margaret Graham – was a second cousin to Claverhouse,¹⁵⁷ and Philip himself accompanied Claverhouse as his standard-bearer during the campaign of 1689.¹⁵⁸ He is therefore able to give an eyewitness account of the historical events of that year, and indeed his narrative is presented in the first person.¹⁵⁹ The poem appears to be modelled equally on Lucan’s *Bellum Civile* (Civil War, sometimes known as *Pharsalia*) and Virgil’s *Aeneid*. Indeed, as L.B.T. Houghton

observes, “the first line of the *Grameid* declares its subject to be both *bella* [‘wars’, Lucan, BC 1.1] and *arma* [‘arms’, Virgil, Aeneid 1.1], thereby conflating its two great models in Latin epic. [...] Like Virgil himself, Philp repeatedly echoes the opening words of the *Aeneid* [i.e., *Arma virumque cano*, ‘I sing of arms and the man’] over the course of his poem, bringing together the words *arma* and *vir* (‘arms’ and ‘the man’).”¹⁶⁰ Readers familiar with the advance releases of multi-chapter instalments from the present book (as described in the Foreword) may recall precisely the same conjunction in the title of the third Excerpt – “Graham Origins: Arms and the Man” – an *homage* to both Virgil and Philip,¹⁶¹ as well as a suitable title for an instalment whose dual focus was heraldry (“Arms;” Chapter 1) and the first Graham (“the Man;” Chapter 2). In addition, astute readers may recall that the epitaph of Sir John Graham of Dundaff (d. 1298) identified him with Achates, the confidant and indeed *alter ego* of Aeneas (Chapter 3).

The *Grameid*, then, aspires to literary greatness – a lofty neo-classical composition that interprets 17th-century Scotland through the lens of classical Rome. “By casting his narrative in the style of the *Aeneid* and *Bellum Civile*, the author of the *Grameid* implicitly raises his theme to the level of the great historical and mythological conflicts of antiquity, as immortalised by its sublimest poets.”¹⁶² Houghton goes on to confirm that “Philp’s borrowings from Virgil [...] serve to associate the hero of the *Grameid* with his counterpart in the *Aeneid*. [...] So the anxious wakefulness of Graham recalls the careworn deliberations of the Trojan leader at critical moments in the *Aeneid*.”¹⁶³ (Indeed, as we shall see below, no comparison is too grand for Philip’s *Kilychranchius heros*, “the hero of Killiecrankie.”¹⁶⁴) To deepen the classical connection, Philip follows Geoffrey of Monmouth in honouring Brutus of Troy – who, like Romulus and Remus, was a legendary descendant of Aeneas – as Britain’s founder and first king.¹⁶⁵ For Scotland, Philip sees the House of Stuart as descended from its founding king, Fergus (Chapter 2, CAMP 2); accordingly, it is James – not William – who is Scotland’s true king in 1689.¹⁶⁶ Classical and Caledonian onomastics are cleverly intertwined. “The action of the poem focuses on Graham’s own native territory, ‘the land of Angus’, which in Latin is ‘locus Aeneadum,’ ‘Aeneas’ being usually Scotticized as ‘Angus.’”¹⁶⁷ Similarly, “Philp writes of ‘the birth of the divine Prince [James] on the same day as that on which Constantine first breathed the air of Heaven’. The allusion appears to be that [emperor] Constantine who was the forerunner of Henrician claims to royal sovereignty in ecclesiastical matters: but in fact Philp is referring to Constantine II of Scotland” – an example of what Murray Pittock terms “fruitful confusion.”¹⁶⁸

More generally, “The moral universe of the *Grameid* is structured according to the characteristic polarities of the tradition defined and exemplified by Virgil and Lucan.”¹⁶⁹ But the style is uneven, combining “brisk historical narrative with protracted passages of virulent invective against the opponents of his cause.”¹⁷⁰ In the preface to the printed edition, Murdoch – in the erudite and prolix style of his time – comments thus on the polemic component:¹⁷¹

The poems of Philip are a new witness, were such required, to the violence of contemporary feeling, political and ecclesiastical. Our author, in bitterness of invective, equals the most partisan satires of the time, and it cannot be said that he has heightened his large amount of such matter by much point. The Latin

tongue gave him a veil for his vituperation, and so left him very free to indulge his spleen; but his use of it in these passages is so heavy that our regret for his misspent time is unmixed.

By way of example, let us read the description of the Scottish Presbyter that Philip puts into the mouth of Claverhouse on the banks of the River Roy (Book V, lines 461-496):¹⁷²

*Presbyter infelix patriae fatalis Erynnis,
Invisus superis, turbator pacis, in iram
Pronus, avaritiae cultor, luxusque magister
Impiger, obscaeno necnon petulantior haedo,
Et scelere infamis, praeclarus et arte Pelasga,
Fraude Caledoniis Graia et bene notus in oris,
Insignisque dolo, et simulati numinis arte,
Aequorei similis cancri, et testudinis instar
Dirigit huc gressus, obliquum lumina torquet;
Improbis impostor, qui religione deorum
Territat attonitas vana et formidine mentes,
Obfuscatur veneranda patrum monumenta profanis
Commentis, alioque loqui sermone facessit
Biblia sacra suo sensu; sanctum sed in sua verba
Torquet Evangelium, et Christi mandata refellit,
Atque e suggestu cerdonum oracula fundit.
Dum studet insipido fallax imponere vulgo,
Spem vultu simulat, pansisque ad sidera palmis
Ore, oculis, gestuque loqui divina videtur,
Atque inter lachrimas, et singultantia verba
Instruit arte dolos, et fraude resuscitat iras.
Mox vultum videas distortum, atque oris hiatum
Ingentem, inque modum raucorum ululare luporum,
Cumque preces longas fundit, ciet horrida bella
In patriam, patriaeque patrem; sic relligionis
Ludificat stolidam mentito nomine plebem.
Presbyter et Scotus toto notissimus orbe
Exhibet indomiti specimen fatale tyranni,
Cujus triste sonat nunquam laetabile nomen.
Invidus, insidiosus, iners, malefidus amicus,
Impius, ingenio vafer, et Pharisaeus oliva
Unctus, nequitiae genuinus Machiavelli
Discipulus, tam fraudis amans, quam litis alumnus.
Iratis olim in poenam mortalibus aegris
A superis illata lues, nec turpius ullum
Jupiter immisit terris per saecula monstrum.*

In Murdoch's paraphrase:

The miserable presbyterian, the fatal fury of his country, hated by the gods, the disturber of peace, prone to wrath, the student of avarice, earnest master of lust, wanton as a goat, infamous in guilt, a very Greek in deceit, and well known on Scottish shore for Grecian fraud, distinguished in artifice and in the arts of hypocrisy, like the crab of the sea or the tortoise, he directs his steps hither while

he looks the other way; vile impostor who in name of the religion of the gods, and by vain fear terrifies the weak minds, confounds by his profane comments the venerable monuments of the fathers, and attempts to preach in other words the sacred Scriptures under a sense (not their own). He turns the Gospel to suit his own discourse, makes light of the commands of Christ, and from the pulpit pours out the oracular utterances of the mere cobbler. While the deceiver seeks to impose upon the foolish common people, he assumes an expression of hope, and with palms spread open to the heavens he seems by mouth, eyes, and gestures to be uttering divine things, yet amid tears and sobbing words he skilfully lays his plots, and by his arts kindles strife. Presently you may see his face distorted, and his vast gaping mouth howling after the manner of hoarse wolves, and while he pours out long prayers, he raises up horrible wars upon his country and against his country's father. Thus in the feigned name of religion he plays upon the stupid people. And the Scotch presbyter, the most notorious in the world, presents the fatal specimen of the incorrigible tyrant whose sad name never comes with any note of joy – envious, cunning, lazy, faithless in friendship, unfilial, subtle, anointed Pharisee, a true disciple of Machiavellian guile, loving lies as a lawyer loves a lawsuit. He is a plague inflicted as a punishment by the angry gods upon miserable mortals, and never did Jupiter in all the ages send a worse monster on the earth.

One might think that the poet would now be willing to fall back, exhausted yet exultant at a job well done. But Philip is just getting warmed up; he continues this particular harangue for a further 174 lines. One might be tempted to go out on a limb and say that he doesn't like Presbyterians.

In an effort at balance, Philip's praise of his heroes is equally overblown. Here is how Claverhouse himself is introduced (Book II, lines 57-83):¹⁷³

*... nec quisquam insurgere contra
Pro Rege, et patriae pro libertate tuenda,
Audet, inhumano neve arma inferre Tyranno,
Bellica sanguinei nec tollere signa Gradivi.
Ecce autem mediis bellorum in motibus, ingens
Dum stupor iste tenet procerum mentesque manusque,
Et premit atra polum nox pulso sole Britannum,
Montrosio novus exoritur de pulvere phoenix,
Virtutis simul, et patrii cognominis haeres
Illius ad Varium cecidit qui Marte Sacellum,
Gramus, hyperborei decus et fax unica Scoti
Dundius, armisoni sobolesque invicta Gradivi,
Atque leonigeros attingens sanguine Reges.
Ille ingens veterum (quern secula nulla tacebunt)
Grampiadum Ductor, teneris qui semper ab annis
Assuetus veros ferro defendere Reges,
Millibus e multis solus pro Regis honore,
Et patria, sine praesidiis, atque agmine et aere,
Restitit Auriaci rabiem, titulumque tyranni,
Atque pio pro Rege stetit sine milite et armis,
Usque sub Atholiis posuit dum viscera campis.
Fama per attonitum cujus volat aurea mundum,
Qua mare fluctivagis terram circumsonat undis,*

*Quaque coloratis roseum caput exserit Indis
Luce nova exoriens Phoebus, Maurumque relabens
Aspicit Oceanum, bellis exercita virtus
Magni magna cluit Grami ...*

Resorting, once again, to Murdoch's paraphrase:¹⁷⁴

For the exiled King no man dares to rise against [the inhuman Batavian tyrant, i.e. William], nor yet for fatherland or liberty does any man unfurl the ruddy banner of Mars. But lo! while stupor of hand and mind holds the nobles, while dark night o'erspreads the sky of Britain, her sun having fled, lo! the Graham as a new Phoenix rises from the ashes of Montrose, the heir alike of the valour and the name of him who fell at Falkirk;¹⁷⁵ Dundee, the light and glory of the North, invincible son of Mars, descended from the lion-bearing kings.¹⁷⁶ He, the great leader of the ancient Grampian race (concerning whom no age will be silent), from his early years a defender of lawful kings, – he alone of many soldiers stood for King and Country against the title and the rage of the Dutch tyrant, without means, men, or defence, till he laid his body beneath the sod of Athole. His fair fame flies throughout the admiring world – to every shore of the ocean. Wherever Phoebus presents his rosy head – from his rising in new light in the Indies to his setting among the Moors – there is heralded the valour of the Graham.

Er, quite. And, as before, this is just the overture; more specific legendary and historical comparisons lie in the pages ahead. Therein, Claverhouse is often “expressly said to resemble the Roman hero Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, celebrated by Virgil and Ennius.”¹⁷⁷ In addition, “Dundee is the ‘last Hector’ of the British race, but also a new Calgacus (the patriot leader of the Caledonians [against the Romans] at Mons Graupius).”¹⁷⁸ His troops fill a vast plateau that would have swallowed even the armies of the Trojan cycle and the Persian Wars.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, Philip “exalts the first Viscount Dundee above such proverbial conquerors and defenders as Alexander the Great, Manlius Capitolinus and Agamemnon (who presided over the siege of Troy, 2.155)” and equates him to the Roman general Scipio Africanus, who is widely regarded as one of the greatest military leaders of all time.¹⁸⁰ In Philip's words (Book II, lines 148-155) and Murdoch's paraphrase:¹⁸¹

*Ipse ego militiam, Gramumque in castra secutus
Regia. Sic medio bellorum in turbine fortem
Scipiadem ipse pater stipaverat Ennius olim.
Nee cecinisse Ducis mihi contigit acta minoris,
Cui Macedum magnus cedat Rex pectore et armis,
Et Capitolinae defensor Manlius arcis.
Cui ferus ipse etiam eversor Carthaginis altae
Cedat, et Iliacos qui cinxerat agmine muros.*

I myself followed the Graham on the Royal side. Thus did Father Ennius, amid the storms of war, follow the heroic Scipio. Nor has it fallen to my lot to sing the deeds of a General less exalted. To him the great king of Macedon gives place in courage and conduct of war; and Manlius too, the defender of the Capitol, and Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, and the hero who invested the Trojan walls.

The modern reader's response to Philip's florid and neo-classical style is aptly conveyed by the author of a Wordpress blog titled *SetInThePast*.¹⁸²

[In the *Grameid*] there were an awful lot of references to Trojans and Tyrians, which didn't exactly fit in all that well with a battle fought not in Troy or Carthage but just outside Pitlochry. Still, it was wonderfully purple language [...] It's hard to take this too seriously because it's just so incredibly biased and so incredibly melodramatic, but it's actually very entertaining in a weird sort of way!

Bonnie Dundee

"Bonnie Dundee" is the title of a poem and song written by Sir Walter Scott in 1825 in honour of Claverhouse. Prior to this, traditional songs with this title referred to the city of Dundee rather than to the person of its most famous Viscount.¹⁸³ Scott's poem runs to eleven verses plus a chorus; sung versions usually consist just of the chorus along with verses 1, 2, 8 and 10. The poem and song lyrics exist in many variants, some with additional Scotticisms not present in the original. The poem describes Claverhouse's departure, with fifty troopers, from the Scottish Convention in 1689. The Convention had belittled his fear of a Covenanter plot to kill him; when it became obvious that it would side with William rather than James, Claverhouse and his followers rode out of Edinburgh, stopping only at the Castle to speak to the like-minded Duke of Gordon. In the words of the original poem:¹⁸⁴

To the Lords of Convention 'twas Clavers who spoke.
'Ere the King's crown shall fall there are crowns to be broke;
So let each Cavalier who loves honour and me,
Come follow the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

*Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
Come saddle your horses, and call up your men;
Come open the West Port and let me gae free,
And it's room for the bonnets of Bonny Dundee!*

Dundee he is mounted, he rides up the street,
The bells are rung backward,¹⁸⁵ the drums they are beat;
But the Provost, douce man, said, "Just e'en let him be,
The Gude Town is weel quit of that De'il Dundee."

As he rode down the sanctified bends of the Bow,
Ilk carline was flyting and shaking her pow;¹⁸⁶
But the young plants of grace they looked couthie and slee,
Thinking luck to thy bonnet, thou Bonny Dundee!

With sour-featured Whigs the Grass-market was crammed,
As if half the West had set tryst to be hanged;
There was spite in each look, there was fear in each e'e,
As they watched for the bonnets of Bonny Dundee.

These cowls of Kilmarnock had spits and had spears,
And lang-hafted gullies to kill cavaliers;
But they shrunk to close-heads and the causeway was free,
At the toss of the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

He spurred to the foot of the proud Castle rock,
And with the gay Gordon he gallantly spoke;
“Let Mons Meg¹⁸⁷ and her marrows speak twa words or three,
For the love of the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.”

The Gordon demands of him which way he goes?
“Where’er shall direct me the shade of Montrose!
Your Grace in short space shall hear tidings of me,
Or that low lies the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

“There are hills beyond Pentland and lands beyond Forth,
If there’s lords in the Lowlands, there’s chiefs in the North;
There are wild Duniewassals¹⁸⁸ three thousand times three,
Will cry Hoigh! for the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

“There’s brass on the target of barkened bull-hide;
There’s steel in the scabbard that dangles beside;
The brass shall be burnished, the steel shall flash free,
At the toss of the bonnet of Bonny Dundee.

“Away to the hills, to the caves, to the rocks
Ere I own an usurper, I’ll couch with the fox;
And tremble, false Whigs, in the midst of your glee,
You have not seen the last of my bonnet and me!”

He waved his proud hand, the trumpets were blown,
The kettle-drums clashed and the horsemen rode on,
Till on Ravelston’s cliffs and on Clermiston’s lee
Died away the wild war-notes of Bonny Dundee.

*Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
Come saddle the horses, and call up the men,
Come open your gates, and let me gae free,
For it’s up with the bonnets of Bonny Dundee!*

Several different melodies have been adapted to carry the words, but only one tune is now well known; it is used as a regimental march.¹⁸⁹ The song has been co-opted for various causes; for example, during the American Civil War it was reworked as a Confederate song titled “Riding a Raid.”¹⁹⁰

Scott’s *Old Mortality*, a novel first published in 1816,¹⁹¹ also shows the author’s Jacobite sympathies¹⁹² and admiration for Claverhouse as a leader and military commander. Nevertheless – as pointed out in a quotation above – it also lent weight to the accusations of Claverhouse’s detractors by portraying him as a vengeful persecutor.¹⁹³ Scott’s compendiums of traditional poetry were politically balanced and therefore included anti-

Jacobite compositions. For example, in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, the Viscount's defeat at Drumclog is commemorated by "The Battle of Loudon Hill," a pro-Covenanter ballad in which he is styled "wicked Claver'se" and "cruel Claver'se."¹⁹⁴

Later literature

The story of Claverhouse has continued to inspire authors into modern times. Ian Maclaren's historical novel *Graham of Claverhouse*, published in 1907, is but one example of his enduring appeal to writers of historical fiction. Ian Maclaren was actually the pseudonym of Rev. John Watson (1850-1907), a Scottish minister who became moderator of the synod of the English Presbyterian Church.¹⁹⁵ While the author's religion might lead one to expect a pro-Covenanter bias, the novel portrays Claverhouse as a hero. Maclaren was a member of the Kailyard school, a romanticising movement in Scottish fiction that George Douglas Brown dismissed as "sentimental slop;"¹⁹⁶ in this respect, the novel shares many faults with Philip's *Grameid*. Even in its heyday, the book does not seem to have gained much traction; Andrew Nash places it amongst "Maclaren's other works of fiction [which] were barely noticed at all and are now hardly remembered."¹⁹⁷

Subsequent military pioneers

Amongst the prominent military leaders to emerge from the Graham family in later times we should not overlook Thomas Graham, Baron Lynedoch (1748-1843), who rose through the ranks of the British Army in the 19th century to become Wellington's second-in-command.¹⁹⁸ In 1811, at the Battle of Barrosa, he ordered "a suicidal frontal attack by his light infantry up a hill" which Napier described as "an inspiration rather than a resolution, so wise, so sudden was the decision, so swift, so conclusive was the execution."¹⁹⁹

As 1st Lord of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham (1792-1861) reformed the British Navy in 1830, forming it into an efficient organisation with five departments.²⁰⁰ Gladstone subsequently observed that Sir James "knew more of economic and trade matters than the rest of the Cabinet of 1841 put together." From Netherby stock (of which we will learn more in the next chapter),²⁰¹ Sir James was also deeply uncharismatic. Arthur Gordon belittled him for being both "rash and timid,"²⁰² while Shaftesbury went so far as to say that "Graham has contrived to render himself so thoroughly odious that I cannot find one human being who will speak a word in his behalf."²⁰³

Another notable naval man was James Graham, 6th Duke of Montrose, the inventor of the world's first aircraft carrier.²⁰⁴ In 1912, he played a considerable part in the design of a 14,450-ton vessel intended for delivery to an Italian shipping company. When war broke out in 1914, construction of the unfinished vessel was abandoned. In 1916, work began anew to convert the ship into an aircraft carrier using plans that had been drafted previously by Graham.²⁰⁵ The conversion work was completed in September 1918 and

the vessel was commissioned as *H.M.S. Argus* – the first true “flat top.”²⁰⁶ In 1920, the ship was modified to carry about 20 aircraft and remained in service until 1947.²⁰⁷

Epilogue

The catch-phrase “the gallant Grahams” is now as much of a Scottish cliché as “the light Lindsays” or “the gay Gordons.”²⁰⁸ Folk songs that celebrate the theme of Graham gallantry continue to be written into our own times and their scope is no longer confined to the events of 17th century Scotland. For example, the Battlefield Band’s ballad “The Gallant Grahams,”²⁰⁹ which was first released in 1980,²¹⁰ is set in Northern Ireland; geographical anchors include mentions of the River Boyne and the towns of Carrickfergus and Coleraine. It is not clear if its narrative is based on historical fact; either way, the story of the Graham family in Ireland – and how so many of its members came to settle in the North – will be addressed in Chapter 9.

The words of John Stewart of Ardvorlich provide an apt conclusion to this chapter. “There can be few families,” he writes, “which should be prouder of their past with more justification than the ‘Gallant Grahams.’ It is only to be hoped that Grahams will arise in the future with the same natural gifts for leadership and imbued with the same loyalty as has been evinced in so marked a degree by their ancestors during the last 800 years.”²¹¹ However, as we shall see in the next chapter, not all of the Grahams were models of laudable behaviour.



Reivers – Bandits of the Debatable Land

I used to think that “reavers” were lawless baddies confined to the fantasy worlds of *Firefly* and *Game of Thrones*. But no; not only were they flesh and blood, but apparently your present author is descended directly from their stock (Chapter 9). The word reiver, to use the Scots spelling, means “robber, raider, marauder, plunderer”¹ and, in this case, applies to the innumerable clan-loyal brigands who flourished, from the 13th to the 16th centuries, along the turbulent Border between England and Scotland. Lest I be accused of sensationalising, I shall resort more often than usual to quoting the words of others.

George Fraser introduces the Border Grahams as follows:²

GRAHAM (Graeme) — mostly English (so far as Border history goes), but notoriously ready to be on either side. Originally Scottish, and famous outside the Border area. [...] Apart from the Armstrongs, the Grahams were probably the most troublesome family on the frontier. Their dual allegiances caused confusion, and they were cordially detested by their own English authorities. At one time the most numerous family in the West Border [...] Highly numerous in Cumberland.

The Grahams were localised on both sides of the Border in the Western March, which was usually more violent than either the Middle or Eastern March. In particular, the families of the eight sons of Long Will Graham (Lang Will of Stuble; Fig. 8.1), were planted in and around the Debatable Land,³ a region adjacent to the river Esk claimed by both Scotland and England (Fig. 8.2).⁴ Lang Will (d. *ca.* 1540) was reportedly “a man of immense size and muscular strength, combined with a commanding personality.”⁵ Seemingly from Dryfesdale in Dumfriesshire, with roots in Mosskesswra/Mosskesso of the same county,⁶ he had allegedly dwelt on the Esk since 1477⁷ and was granted his part of the Debatable Land by Henry VIII in 1538, on the understanding that he and his family would oppose the Scots.⁸ The English Warden – Thomas, Lord Scrope – later referred to his sons and their families as “that viperous generation”⁹ and fumed over “the awfullness of the Grahams.”¹⁰

The basics of the Borderer lifestyle are aptly summarised by James Sneyd:¹¹

Cattle-raiding and all the associated violence that went with it was essentially a way of life for the border clans, often called the Border Reivers. They shut themselves up in high stone towers, robbed, burned and murdered their neighbours, and were robbed, burned and murdered in their turn. Their only security was their immediate kinship group, and that not always; Graham would happily murder Graham if the need arose. [...] The border areas were fought over by England and Scotland, to and fro, for hundreds of years, and when the invading armies weren’t reiving them, the locals couldn’t imagine any other way they could possibly live, so they reived each other. Extortion and protection rackets (the origin,

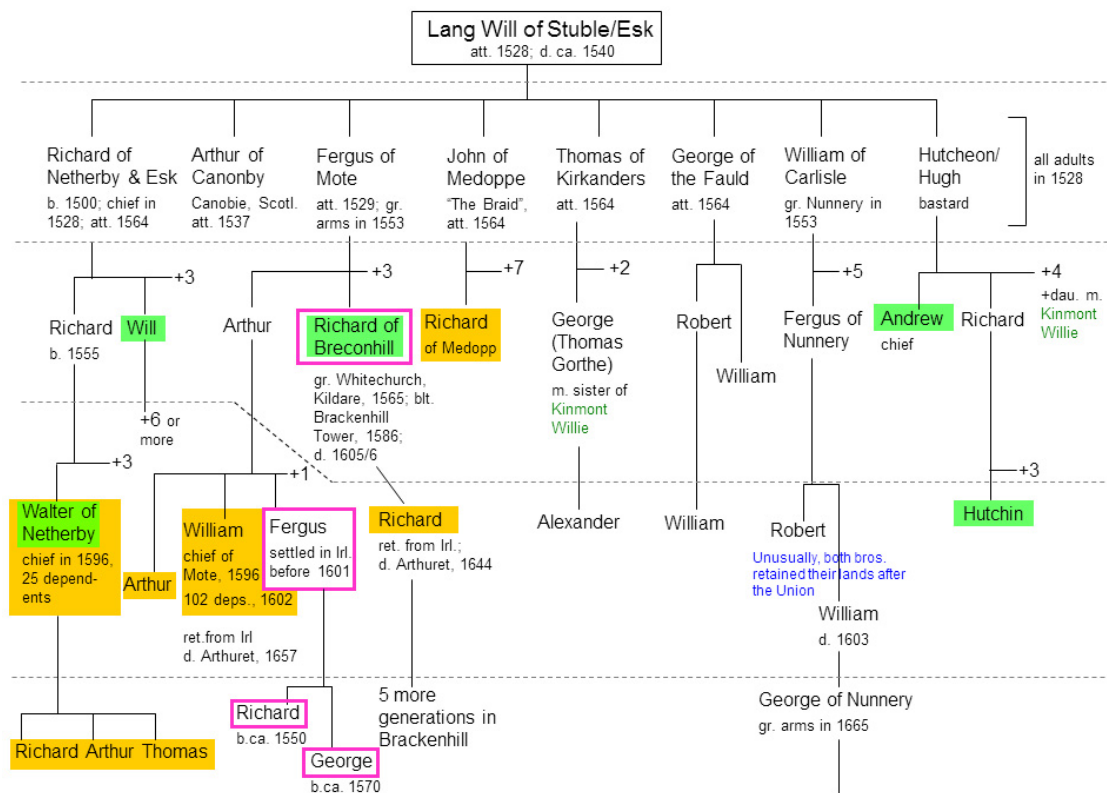


Fig. 8.1 Principal male descendants of Lang Will Graham of Stuble on the Border of the Western March, and in particular in or near the Debatable Land.¹² Additional unnamed sons in each generation are shown as +1 (for one), +2 (for two), etc. One granddaughter of Lang Will's is mentioned as she was married to Kinmont Willie (where named, he is shown in green text). Abbreviations: b., born; d., died; ca., circa; att., attested; gr., granted; m., married; deps., dependents; blt., built; ret., returned; Irl., Ireland. Magenta box: free settler in Ireland before 1606; orange highlight: deported to Ireland in 1606/7, arriving in Dublin; green highlight: implicated in the springing of Kinmont Willie (see relevant section in Chapter 8). Horizontal dotted grey lines distinguish one generation from the next. The location of Arthuret is shown in Fig. 8.2.

it is claimed, of the modern word blackmail) were a profession, and one popular method of execution was drowning, it being cheaper than hanging as no rope was needed.

Fraser obliges with a quick character-reference for the Border Grahams, and elaborates on their role in the highly organised "blackmail industry," which (as Sneyd intimates) we would nowadays call a protection racket:^{13,14}

The biggest family in the Western Border, they also had a fair claim to being the worst. In murder, blackmail, theft, extortion, and intrigue they were second to none. [...] The blackmailers employ[ed] collectors and enforcers (known as brokers), and even something



Fig. 8.2 Features of the Western March and Debatable Land, superimposed on a modern map of the region. The official extent of the Debatable Land is highlighted with yellow overlay, but the term could be used loosely to include the region immediately east of the Esk as well (e.g., from Fauld to Liddel). The modern Scotland-England border is shown by the dashed grey line. Rivers are shown in dark blue text; key features, including old placenames, are shown in red text.¹⁵ The map enables us to locate the homes of the Grahams of Fig. 8.1, as follows. Lang Will of Stuble came from Stibley or Peth, shown on the map as Stibley peth;¹⁶ Fergus of Mote presumably lived at the Mote of Liddel, John of Medoppe at Meadhope, George of the Fauld at Fauld, Arthur of Canonby/Canobie at Canonbie, etc. Base map courtesy of Google Maps, with whom copyright of that layer remains.

like accountants. There was no secrecy about it; the Grahams, who were notorious blackmailers, “define it as nothing ells but a protection money or a reward pro clientelia,” and regarded themselves as rather robust insurance companies.

Thus, young Hutcheon (Hutchin) Graham ran a lucrative protection racket at the expense of the village of Cargo, which was thereby spared his burning and looting spree during “Ill Week” in 1603.¹⁷ Likewise, Richie Graham of Brackenhill – an outlaw wanted for several murders – was reportedly blackmailing more than 60 tenants in the Lanercost area.¹⁸

The list of Graham misdeeds appears endless. At different times they had blood feuds with the Musgraves, Bells, Irvines, Carlises and Maxwells,¹⁹ although personal allegiances were sufficiently complex that different Grahams might find themselves on opposing sides and end up killing one another.²⁰ A coroner’s document of 1584 shows how some Grahams were killing others of the same name in a “miserable family dispute about land,”²¹ and there was also a long and bloody feud between the houses of Richard of Netherby and Fergus of Mote (both sons of Lang Will; Fig. 8.1).²² The Grahams were no friends of authority, either. In 1596, when a Warden officer – assisted by ten Grahams and a bloodhound – overtook two Scottish cattle raiders that they had been chasing, the Grahams stood idly by while the thieves cut the officer down and stole his horse and dog.²³ When Wattie, brother to Jock Graham of the Peartree,²⁴ was on trial at Carlisle for horse-stealing, Jock kidnapped the sheriff’s six-year-old son from outside the officer’s home and used him as hostage to secure Wattie’s release.²⁵ In an attempt on the life of land-sergeant John Musgrave at Brampton, a group of Grahams set upon him and his followers with dags and guns, and tried to burn him alive in a house.²⁶ And so on, and on. In 1592, Lord Maxwell complained against the Grahams of Netherby and other of Lang Will’s descendants in respect of their “violent and masterful occupation” of Kirkandrews and Annandale for 30 years, and similar oppression and exploitation of five other named districts over 25 years.²⁷ Regarding the list of Graham misdemeanours compiled by Lord Scrope in 1600, Fraser writes:²⁸

According to this, no fewer than sixty Grahams were outlaws, for murder, robbery and other crimes; they had despoiled above a dozen Cumbrian villages, sheltered felons, fought the Warden’s troops, murdered witnesses, extorted money from their enemies, and in one specific instance burned the house of one Hutcheon Hetherington to force him into the open so that they could cut him to pieces. Add to this blackmail, kidnapping, and ordinary reiving, and their account was a long one.

Fast forward a century: Rob Roy and a resurgence of rustling

Just over 100 years later, the Act of Union between Scotland and England (1707) triggered a sustained increase in the cattle trade between the two countries,²⁹ but equally saw an upturn in cattle rustling and protection rackets as a way of life.³⁰ This was particularly evident in the feud between Rob Roy (Robert Roy MacGregor, 1671-1734) and James Graham, 1st Duke of Montrose. In a reversal of the old pattern, the Grahams were now more reived against than reiving, although it could be said that the behaviour

of the Duke was nothing more than banditry legitimised by power and title. Either way, here is the story.

Rob Roy borrowed £1000 from the Duke of Montrose to expand his cattle business, which even from the outset seems to have included watch/insurance services for others that were probably little better than blackmail.³¹ Unfortunately, Rob's chief drover absconded with a valuable herd, so the loan could not be repaid.³² Accordingly, Rob Roy was declared a fraud, bankrupt and outlaw. The Duke saw to it that his family were evicted, his house on Loch Lomond burnt, and his goods and lands seized.

In retaliation, Rob Roy waged a private feud against the Duke until 1722, repeatedly raiding his grain stores and rent collections.³³ Rob also took to rustling cattle and extorting protection money from farmers on Montrose land.³⁴ In addition, he captured and imprisoned the Duke's deputy chamberlain, John Graham of Killearn, who had overseen the eviction of Rob's family with considerable cruelty, and had allegedly allowed Rob's wife to be raped by his men.³⁵

Eventually, Rob Roy was himself captured and imprisoned. Rob's previous generosity to the poor, especially those who had suffered at the hands of the Duke, saw him acquire the mantle of a Scottish Robin Hood in the popular imagination. Having become a folk hero in his own lifetime, he narrowly avoided being transported to the colonies by the grant of a royal pardon in 1727.³⁶

In noticing the parallels between Border reiving and Rob Roy's campaign, we have got ahead of our main story. Let us now resume our narrative of the Anglo-Scottish Western Border at the close of the 16th century. In so doing, we will switch our attention from Rob Roy's blood feud against certain Grahams to "the positive mania about the Grahams" that characterised the later years of Thomas, Lord Scrope, English Warden of the Western March from 1592 to 1603.³⁷

Carlisle Castle, 1596: The springing of Kinmont Willie

William Armstrong of Kinmont – better known as Kinmont Willie – was a large-scale reiver of the Western Border³⁸ who was married to a daughter of Hutcheon (Hugh) Graham, Lang Will's bastard son (Fig. 8.1). In late 1595 or early 1596, Willie attended a Warden Court in the Western March; on his homeward journey, he is alleged (rather unconvincingly) to have obstructed an English pursuit of some of his kin and was therefore conveyed as a prisoner to Carlisle Castle, where he was detained by Lord Scrope, the English Warden.³⁹ This arrest contravened a sacrosanct promise of safe conduct to and from such Courts, and was greatly resented by Walter Scott, 5th of Buccleuch, who saw himself as the *de facto* Scottish Warden, the position at that time being vacant.⁴⁰ There was already bad blood between Buccleuch and Scrope, and – on the matter of Kinmont Willie's release – the demands of the former and self-justification of the latter became increasingly intransigent. Diplomacy failed; Buccleuch railed, and Scrope refused to budge.⁴¹

Eventually Buccleuch decided to lead a small assault force on Carlisle Castle under cover of darkness with the intention of liberating Kinmont Willie.⁴² This stealth mission relied upon good discipline, precise intelligence and inside help. The crucial assistance was provided by corrupt individuals on the English side, including Thomas Carleton (a former Deputy English Warden who had been fired by Scrope), and almost certainly including some members of the Castle's guard. Carleton was related to the Grahams by marriage and was already implicated in some of their unsavoury rackets; in this instance, he colluded with Richard of Brackenhill, Hutcheon's son Andrew, Richard of Netherby's son Will, and Will's son Jock (Fig. 8.1) in a meeting with Buccleuch during which the jail-break was planned.⁴³ Young Hutchin Graham, Kinmont Willie's nephew, was credited with having first moved Buccleuch to attempt a rescue;⁴⁴ whether true or not, Buccleuch later admitted of the raid that "I could nought have done in that matter without the great friendship of the Grahams of Eske, especially Francis of Canobie and Walter Graham of Netherby"^{45,46} (Fig. 8.1).

It is obvious that the Grahams were essential because they had special ties with both Thomas Carleton and Kinmont Willie and because they controlled the country between the Debatable Land and Carlisle.⁴⁷ What historians invariably overlook is the fact that the Grahams also had prior experience of escaping from Carlisle Castle; specifically, Walter of Netherby's grandfather, Richard, had broken out of the same prison in 1528 through an unsecured postern gate, again with outside (and possibly inside) help.^{48,49} Perhaps the memory of this influenced some aspects of the conspiracy? As we shall see, Walter's escape had some elements in common with the Kinmont Willie escape.

It is rumored that Hutcheon Graham's daughter was allowed to visit her husband during his imprisonment at Carlisle Castle. If so, she may have been Buccleuch's "woman spy" who was able to pinpoint Kinmont's location within the fortress. It transpires that he was being kept on parole (and thus unchained) in one of the castle's domestic buildings.⁵⁰ Lord Scrope later alleged that one of the Grahams even brought Buccleuch's ring to Kinmont Willie as a token that he would soon be rescued.⁵¹ One way or another, the night of the raid – Sunday, 13 April 1596 – was blessed by foul weather which minimised the assailants' chances of detection, and the mission went exactly according to plan. An hour before dawn, the castle's postern gate was breached, either after being smashed by the Scots or opened by complicit English guards. Kinmont Willie's house was quickly located by Buccleuch's team. Within minutes, their man was hustled through the open gate and placed on a horse, and the entire party was back on Scottish soil within two hours of sunrise.

The entire saga became immortalised by Sir Walter Scott (the 18-19th century writer, unrelated to Buccleuch) when he included the ballad "Kinmont Willie" in the first edition of his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, published in 1802. The ballad takes many melodramatic liberties with the truth; for example, it has the English Deputy, Thomas Salkeld, being killed by Buccleuch's raiding party on the way to Carlisle, Kinmont Willie being freed from the castle's "inner prison" and carried in irons down a ladder to freedom, and other embellishments.⁵²

Eschewing political romanticism in favour of historical fact, we can report the aftermath the episode as follows. Lord Scrope, humiliated by the loss of his prize prisoner from one of the strongest fortresses in Britain to a small party of Scots, was quick to accuse Buccleuch of leading the illegal foray and Kinmont of dishonour by breaching his parole.⁵³ “The Grahams,” too, “came in for a major share of his reproaches,”⁵⁴ and were later to become an obsessive focus of his resentment.⁵⁵ In the event, Buccleuch voluntarily turned himself over to England in 1597. Surprisingly, he seems to have endeared himself to his warders during his sojourn there and remained friendly toward the English even after his return to Scotland in 1598.⁵⁶ In 1603, Buccleuch led a company of some 2000 Scots as mercenaries in the Low Countries, fighting against Spain.^{57,58} After his spectacular release from Carlisle, Kinmont Willie became the leader of a band of Armstrongs in the Debatable Land who continued to pillage in Cumberland until 1602/3. Soon afterward, however, the Western Border was cleared of Armstrongs as effectively as it was of Grahams, and the era of the Border reivers came to an end.⁵⁹ Ironically, Buccleuch was a key protagonist in achieving this outcome.^{60,61,62}

The end of the reivers

The accession of James VI of Scotland as James I of England brought an end to cross-Border rivalries between the two countries and, since the reivers could no longer play one side off against the other, the Union of the Crowns deprived the riding clans of their political and economic niche.⁶³ James, determined to pacify a region that was no longer at the fringes of two separate kingdoms but rather seen to be “the verie hart of the cuntrey,” took to purging the Borderland of its endemic banditry once and for all.⁶⁴ The Grahams of the Debatable Land proved particularly vulnerable to the new order. The King had earmarked a swathe of fertile land, including Eskdale, as a gift for one of his favourites, Lord Cumberland, who at that time was English Warden of the Western March, but unfortunately the Grahams were in the way.⁶⁵ Accordingly, a corrupt confederation of vested interests made them out to be the sole troublemakers of the Western Border, and had a crusade mounted against them.⁶⁶ No words describe their plight better than those of George Fraser:⁶⁷

The chief sufferers along the whole line were the Grahams of Esk. They had been a thorn in the side of the two kingdoms for as long as anyone could remember, and they paid for it terribly. Yet they would certainly have suffered less if they had not been the owners of some of the most fertile land in all of the Marches, on which Lord Cumberland had cast his eye. It was enough; submission would not suffice in the Grahams’ case – they would have to go.

There followed one of the most comprehensive and cruel examples of race persecution in British history. It is not easy to defend the Grahams, who were as wicked a crew as any in the Borderland, but none of their crimes could have justified the spite with which they were murdered, dispossessed, and banished by their persecutors, in the name of law and order, and with the full approval of the King, whose aversion to them seems to have been acute. One of his proclamations announces that the Grahams had confessed themselves to be “no meet persons to live in those countries, and have humbly besought us that they might be removed to some other parts.” Their lands would be inhabited by “others of good and honest conversation.” Cumberland was just full of good and honest conversers ready to take over.

King James' proclamation named almost one hundred Grahams and their families from the vicinity of the Rivers Esk and Leven. One hundred and fifty "malefactors of the name Graham" were dispossessed in April 1605 and agreed to be deported to the Low Countries, mainly to the English garrison towns at Vlissingen (in English, Flushing) and Brielle (Brill).⁶⁸ If any of the deported Border Grahams did happen to have a Flemish origin (Chapter 2), then for them the voyage would have been a return to their ancestral homeland. However, any connection to the Low Countries – if there ever was one – had long ago been lost; their homes and hearts were now in Eskdale. The intention was that all capable of bearing arms should serve in James' garrisons.⁶⁹ Many of the exiles managed a covert return to the Western Border more or less immediately; for example, of the 72 Grahams shipped to Vlissingen, 58 had sneaked back home within the year.⁷⁰

Despite the prompt return of many exiles from the Netherlands, the outlook for the Border Grahams remained bleak. Sir Henry Leigh was relentless in his campaign against anyone of that surname, in part as a means of lining his own pockets,⁷¹ while many of the worst Cumbrian marauders (long demanded for trial by the Scottish Commissioners) escaped justice by busying themselves in executing the purge.⁷² Some of the most notorious Grahams were taken out of play, and now faced charges for crimes dating back decades. For example, Young Hutchin (Fig. 8.1) had submitted; by this stage a captive in Carlisle Castle, he was indicted for his campaigns of murder and blackmail, for his part in the springing of Kinmont Willie in 1596,⁷³ and for his raids in "Ill Week," 1603.^{74,75} A few firebrands remained at large, and occasionally threatened the new order; in 1606, for instance, Sir William Cranston was ambushed and almost killed by Rob's Fergie Graham, a grandson of John of Medoppe (Fig. 8.1). Such acts of desperation prompted the Border Commission to come up with a "final solution," in which all of the Grahams remaining in the Borderland would be transported to Ireland and settled in Co. Roscommon.⁷⁶

Banishment to Ireland

Sir Ralph Sidley, who owned lands in Co. Roscommon, volunteered to settle the Grahams on his farms there, and received £300 to cover the cost.⁷⁷ The money was donated by (or, failing that, extracted from) the gentlemen of Cumberland and Westmoreland.⁷⁸

Amongst those deported to Ireland were Walter of Netherby, and his sons Richard, Arthur and Thomas; William of Mote; William's brother, Arthur; Richard of Brackenhill's son, Richard; and Richard of Medopp (Fig. 8.1). Of the 50 families who agreed to be settled in Ireland, it is difficult to estimate the numbers that actually boarded the ship, but 124 Grahams are supposed to have been transported under the leadership of Walter of Netherby.⁷⁹ They arrived in Dublin in September, 1606.⁸⁰

The "promised land" in Roscommon proved to be an intractable bogland that lacked potable water, wood and other basic necessities.⁸¹ The new settlers could not communicate with the local Irish, who spoke a different language; the Grahams disliked the natives, and the Irish resented them in return.⁸² Rents and labour expenses were high,

and – perhaps predictably – none of the money intended to help the settlement become established ever reached the exiles.⁸³ As most of the strong men best able to make a new start in an untamed wasteland had already been killed, had died, were fugitives, or were in exile elsewhere, the exercise was doomed from the outset.

Within two years, only about six families of Grahams remained in Co. Roscommon. Some of the youngest men had been sent to the army, but their continual agitation over the loss of their Border homeland proved disruptive to discipline.⁸⁴ Other deportees simply headed back home in secret, prompting the King to call for their hanging or retransportation to Roscommon.⁸⁵ Sir Ralph Sidley, having pocketed the money that should have gone towards settling the exiles on his Irish estates,⁸⁶ had the temerity to complain about the bad character of his charges. His opinion – that the Grahams were an idle people hopelessly addicted to drinking and gambling – may accurately reflect the despondent few who remained on his land,⁸⁷ but happier outcomes are reported for the many who forsook Sir Ralph’s wasteland in search of greener pastures in this unfamiliar island. In the words of one chronicler, “Many of the banished [Graham] clans found new homes in various parts of Ireland where they prospered.”⁸⁸ We shall resume this thread in Chapter 9.

Back on the Border

Not every Graham living near the old Western Border was deported. William and Robert Graham, sons of Fergus of Nunnery (himself a son of William of Carlisle and grandson of Lang Will; Fig. 8.1) were “dwelling inward in England, – very good subjects.”⁸⁹ Accordingly, these were allowed to retain their land after the Union of the Crowns and went on to become what was called “county family.”⁹⁰ As late as 1614, a proclamation forbade any Grahams to return from Ireland or the Low Countries; despite this, many did slink back, some under assumed names.⁹¹ In an unusual case, the eldest son of Richard of Brackenhill was allowed to return because Richard’s widow successfully challenged the legality of their dispossession from a freehold;⁹² in consequence, the Grahams held Brackenhill for another five generations before selling it.⁹³ As the political situation eased, other exiled Grahams “returned to the Border, where, in happier times, they settled again into their old haunts, becoming excellent members of society.”⁹⁴

In 1628, another Richard Graham, son of Fergus of Plomp (see Fig. 8.2 for location), acquired lands in Netherby and Esk from Lord Cumberland, and thus established a new line of Grahams in what had previously been the Debatable Land (Fig. 8.3).⁹⁵ In 1628/9, he was knighted and made a baronet, Sir Richard of Esk.⁹⁶ All in all, despite the diaspora of the early 17th century, there survives a population of Grahams in the Debatable Land to the present day.⁹⁷ Over the last four centuries, Border Grahams – whose origins range from the old riding clans to the new line of gentry – were absorbed by the growing cities of Cumberland. Accordingly, by the mid-20th century, Graham had become one of the commonest surnames in Carlisle.⁹⁸

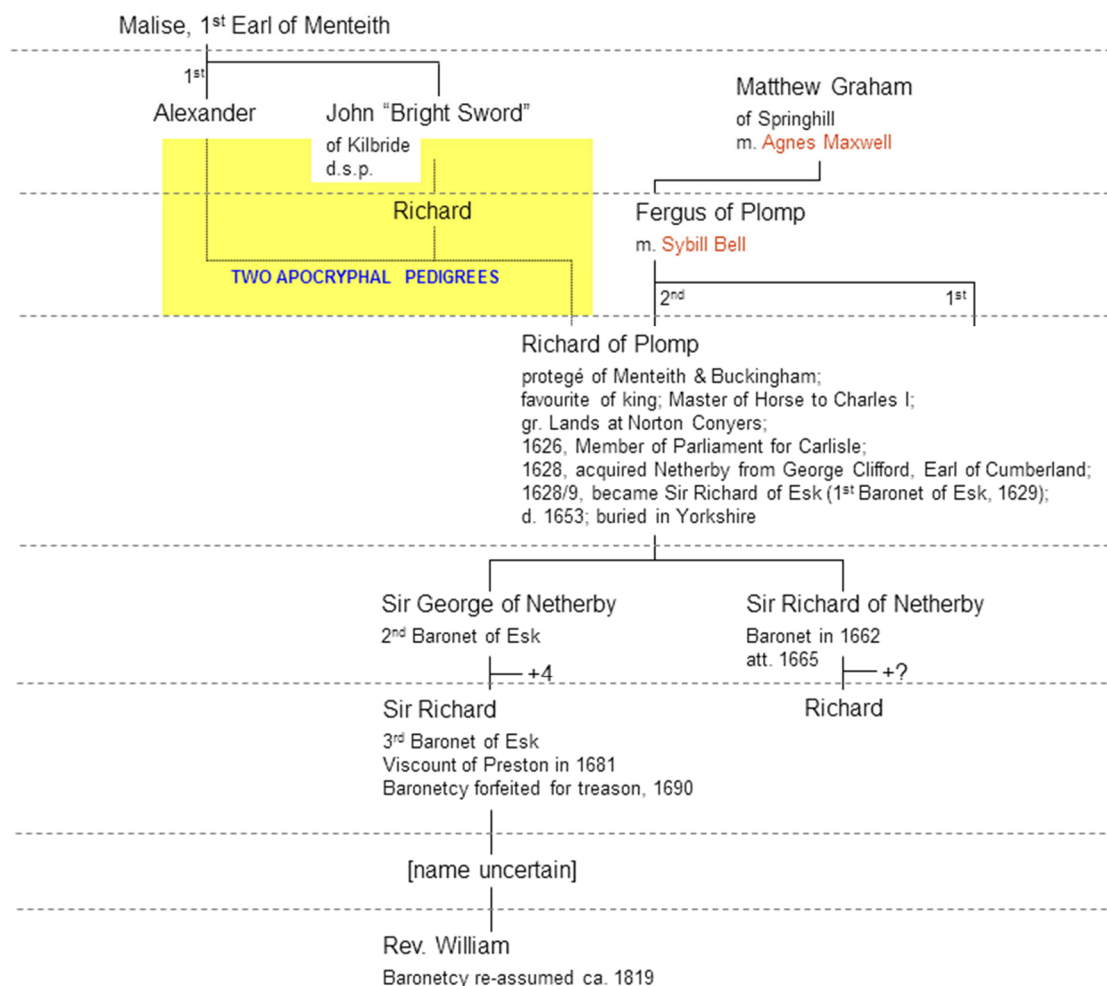


Fig. 8.3 Lineage of Richard Graham of Plomp, 1st Baronet of Esk. This family constitutes what Lord Burghley described as “another sort of Grahams inhabiting the Rivers Leven and Sark,” who were thought not to be descendants of Lang Will. Richard of Plomp and his family occupied the lands at Netherby and Esk vacated by the descendants of Lang Will when the latter were exiled in 1606/7.⁹⁹ Two apocryphal descents of Richard of Plomp from the Grahams of Menteith are shown with finely dotted lines against a yellow background.¹⁰⁰ Conventions and abbreviations are as for Fig. 8.1; in addition, when women are named, the text is coloured red-brown.

A question of origins

We have seen what the Border Grahams did and what became of them, but where did they come from? A deep question remains of whether the Border Grahams have any blood ties to the famous Scottish houses of Montrose, Menteith, Inchbrakie, and so on. The answer to this hinges on the vexed question of whether Lang Will of Stuble/Esk (Fig. 8.1) was in fact descended from William de Grame, the first historical Graham (12th century; Chapter 2). In other words, were the bloodthirsty reivers of the Western Border

actually related to the illustrious nobles and eminent generals (Chapters 2, 3 & 7) with whom they shared a surname? To quote from *Irish Pedigrees*, “It will be seen that the Grahams at an early date were troublesome inhabitants of the Borders. Nothing is said to show whether they were descended from the Scottish family of the name, or whether—which seems just as likely—the Scottish house was of Border origin.”¹⁰¹ Others claim that the lineage of the Border Grahams ultimately goes back to Peter de Graham, elder son of William de Grame, whereas it is certain that both the Montrose and Menteith lines arose from William’s younger son, Alan (misrecorded in the peerage as John).

The peerage records that Peter’s line “failed in male issue in the fifth generation”¹⁰² – actually the eighth from William de Grame (Fig. 1.1)¹⁰³ – but it is widely believed that it gave rise to cadet branches and collateral lines that account for the Grahams of the Western Borderland (Fig. 8.4). Thus, in the third or fourth generation, Henry of Dalkeith was lord of the Dumfriesshire parish of Hutoune (Hutton), within which lies the Barony of Mosskesso/Mosskesswra/ Mackesswra/Mosskessen;¹⁰⁴ in the fifth, the last Henry of Dalkeith married into the Avenel estate, which included the same Barony;¹⁰⁵ in the sixth generation, Sir Nicholas held lands at Eskdale, while his brother Henry (Chapter 3) – who had lands at Dumfries and Northumberland¹⁰⁶ – is listed in armorials as Sir Henry de Graham of Mackesswra;¹⁰⁷ in the seventh, Sir John Graham of Dalkeith and Eskdale¹⁰⁸ was sometimes styled “of Mosskessen.”¹⁰⁹ Mosskessen, variants of which are mentioned through multiple generations of Peter’s line (orange highlights in Fig 8.4), has particular importance because it is the place where Lang Will of Stuble’s immediate forebears are thought to have come from.¹¹⁰ Lang Will, of course, was the patriarch of the notorious Graham families of Eskdale and the Debatable Land (Fig. 8.1). The seal of a contemporary kinsman – Nicol Graham of Meskeswaye (Mosskessen), 1543 – uses the three scallops common to both the “younger” and “elder” lines of the noble Grahams (Figs. 1.1 & 8.4).¹¹¹

If the Border Grahams are related at all to the ennobled Scottish Grahams, they must be derived from the “elder line” (Fig. 8.4);¹¹² however, their descent from Montrose or Menteith (in the “younger line”) was at times attested by those houses in an attempt to exercise influence and control over the Border mavericks.¹¹³ Pseudo-descents of this nature – whereby the Border Grahams in general, and Sir Richard Graham of Esk¹¹⁴ in particular (Fig. 8.3), are purported to be descendants of Malise, Earl of Menteith – are attested in the Peerage, the Herald’s College and the Lyon Court;¹¹⁵ however, these are now known to be impossible.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, in 1628/9, 1665 and 1681 they legitimated the grant of Menteith-based arms (Fig. 8.5) to the family of Sir Richard of Esk (Fig. 8.3), and in 1665 to George, a grandson of Fergus of Nunnery¹¹⁷ (Fig. 8.1).¹¹⁸

For the descent of the Border Grahams from the dynasty founded by William de Grame, we have plausible theories. So much for supposition; is there any direct evidence?

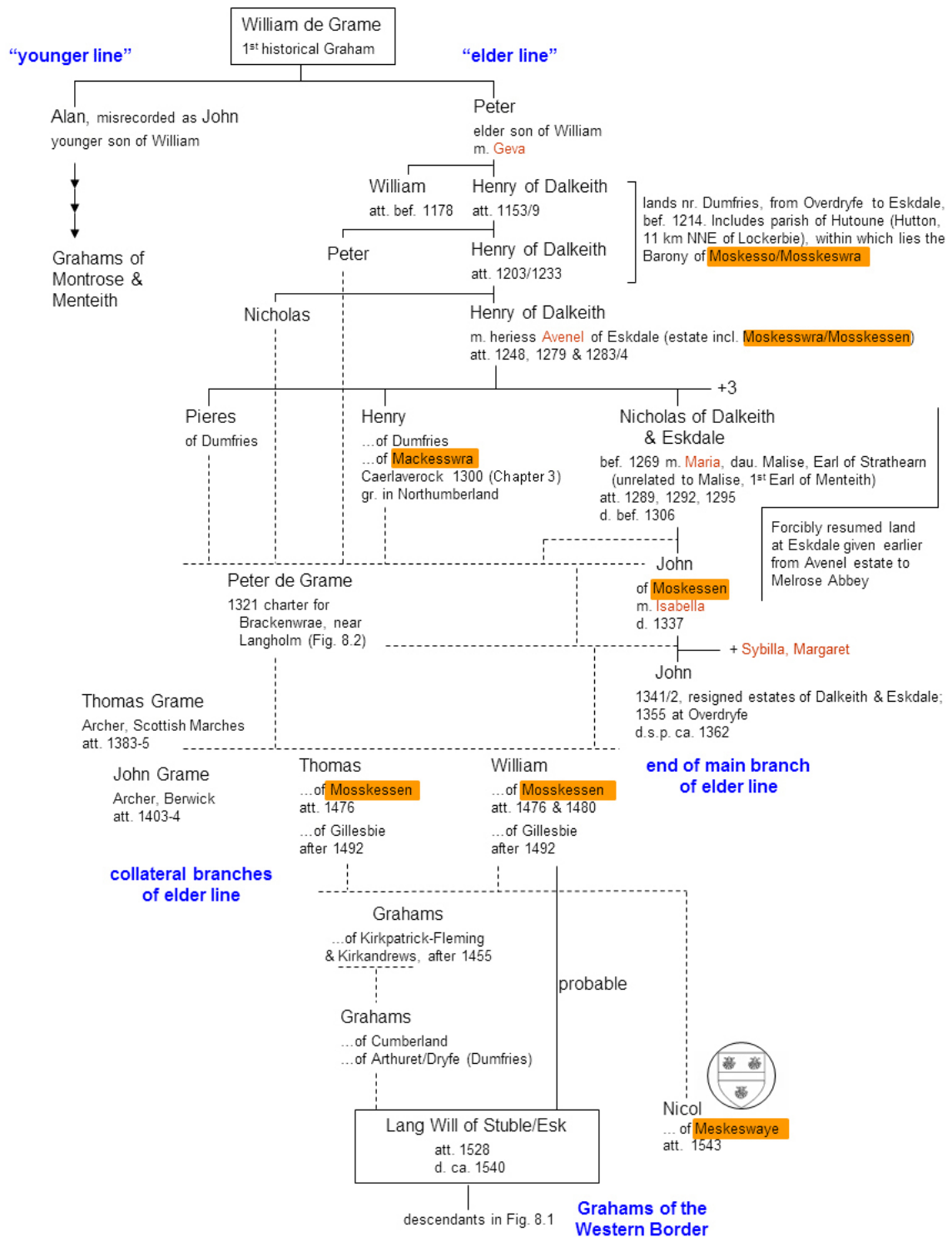


Fig. 8.4 A conjectural origin for the Grahams of the Anglo-Scottish Western Border.¹¹⁹ Colour conventions and abbreviations are as for Fig. 8.3 with, in addition, m., married; d.s.p., died *sine prole* (i.e., died without issue); bef., before; incl., includes, and orange highlight for the place where Lang Will’s immediate forbears are thought to have originated. In addition, the dashed lines indicate lineal descent for which the generational details are not known, whereas tandem arrows indicate lineal descent for which the generational details are known but omitted for brevity. Beware that there is another River Esk in Dalkeith, seat of the early Grahams of the “elder line,” which is unrelated to the River Esk and Eskdale of the Western Border.

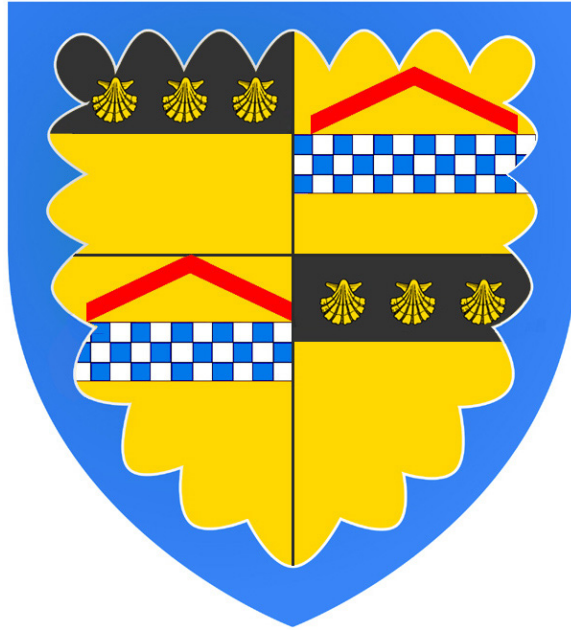


Fig. 8.5 Cadet Graham of Menteith arms¹²⁰ granted in 1665 to the line of Fergus Graham of Nunnery (grandson of Lang Will), headed at that time by Fergus's grandson George, then 72 years old. "Quarterly, 1 & 4, on a chief sable, 3 escallops of the field; 2 & 3, Or a fesse chequy argent & azure, in chief a chevronel gules, all within a bordure engrailed."¹²¹ The colour of the border may be inferred from the arms granted two days later to Sir Richard of Netherby, 1st Baronet of Esk (formerly Richard of Plomp), which reads "As Graham, of Nunnery, with a crescent for difference;" here, the bordure is azure.¹²²

Insights from genetic genealogy

As we saw in Chapter 2, Y-chromosome studies have revealed that most of the important Scottish family names exhibit a common pattern: (A) one large related family at its core, augmented by (B) a number of other unrelated lines that carry the same surname.¹²³ In the Graham Surname DNA Project run by Family Tree DNA, the most populous set of closely-related Scottish Grahams (the "A-group") belong to Y-chromosomal haplogroup J1; they are further defined by a marker called M267, and – within that – by a further marker called L1253.¹²⁴ Over time, the naming convention has changed as more precise sub-group information has emerged, so the Graham Y-haplogroup/Y-haplotype may be referred to as J, J1, J-M267, J-L1253, etc. This is somewhat confusing. The important thing to remember is that all L1253 individuals are M267, and all M267 individuals are J1, and all J1 individuals are J. For consistency and clarity, in this book I will refer to the Y-haplogroup simply as J1 unless further precision is essential. In Chapter 2 we learned that the Graham Surname DNA Project has far more J1 individuals than any other surname project at Family Tree DNA.¹²⁵ Moreover, all the Grahams in the J1 group can be recognised from their short tandem repeat (STR) values at specific genetic loci.¹²⁶ The subgroup of J1 characterised by their STR values is extremely rare on the world scene, but is common among Grahams.

As we also saw in Chapter 2, another important observation from the Family Tree DNA database is that the most populous major Y-haplogroup among Grahams in general is not J1 but R1b. However, there is no sign of extensive inter-relationship among R1b Grahams; on the contrary, this group consists of at least 27 unrelated small families, plus numerous unrelated individuals.¹²⁷ Many of the ancient surnames in Scotland are characterised by R1b, as it is a haplogroup indigenous to western Europe and Britain. From this, it is evident that the R1b Grahams form the majority of the “B-group” for this surname. This “B1 group” consists of disparate families native to the British Isles who adopted the Graham surname, but who are not related by blood to the J1 Grahams. Some Graham-associated families of the Western Border actually fall into this category. The surname “Nethery” is believed to be derived from the Grahams of Netherby (Fig. 8.2),¹²⁸ who are potentially descended from Lang Will Graham of Stuble (Fig. 8.1). The Netherys in the Graham Surname DNA Project database are all of Y-haplogroup R1b, and seem to be related to each other.¹²⁹ While it was still operational, the ySearch database¹³⁰ contained two Grahams whose ancestors were from Canonbie, in the Debatable Land (Fig. 8.2),¹³¹ they too were R1b,¹³² and were judged “probably related” to each other.¹³³

From an assessment of all the Y-DNA results in the Graham Surname DNA Project in 2010, the founder of the J1 Grahams was originally believed to be William de Grame, the first historical Graham (Chapter 2).¹³⁴ In this scheme, the Grahams of the Western Border were believed to be an offshoot of the “noble line,” probably in a manner similar to that shown in Fig. 8.4. That William de Grame was of Y-haplogroup J1 remained the working hypothesis until mid-2018, and (as mentioned in Chapter 2) served as the conceptual framework underpinning the advance releases of several multi-chapter instalments of this book – the “Excerpts” described in the Foreword.¹³⁵ By August 2018, however, hints were emerging that a third group of Grahams, much less populous than either the J1 or R1b groups, seemed to have the strongest links with the houses of Montrose and Menteith and with their traditional lands in Montrose and Kincardineshire. These Grahams, who we can designate as the “B2 group,” are of Y-DNA haplogroup I1. The evidence connecting the “noble line” with haplogroup I1 has been presented in Chapter 2, along with an assessment of its implications for the various origin myths for the Grahams of Montrose.

Y-haplogroup J1 (haplotype J-L1253) is in fact the signature of the Grahams from the western reaches of the Anglo-Scottish border,^{136,137} and its presence in modern testers from the British Isles is indicative of “Border reiver” heritage.¹³⁸ This finding is supported by the existence of J1 Graham “hot-spots” in parts of Ireland known to have been settled by Western Border migrants and deportees, including Co. Fermanagh, Co. Down, and Glenwherry, Co. Antrim.¹³⁹ The preponderance of J1 (L1253) Grahams in the Graham Surname DNA Project, together with their historical epicentre in the Western Border, favours the idea that Lang Will of Stuble/Esk (Fig. 8.1) was himself a J1. If so, and if our current hypothesis that the “noble Grahams” belong to Y-haplogroup I1 is correct (Chapter 2), then Lang Will cannot have been descended from the elder line of William de Grame, as endorsed by T.H.B. Graham (Fig. 8.4). There is then no blood-tie

at all between the Border Grahams and the noble Grahams; the Grahams of the west are genetically unrelated to the Grahams of the east.*

Regarding the Western Border region, T.H.B. Graham wrote in 1911: “I conclude that all the Grahams of Esk, Leven, and Sark were descended from a common ancestor.”¹⁴⁰ However, the R1b Grahams of Canonbie and Netherby discussed above cannot have been descendants (or blood relatives) of a J1 Lang Will. Perhaps the Netherby ancestors belonged to the family of Richard of Plomp, who acquired Netherby in 1628 and established a new line of Grahams in the area that had been vacated by the descendants of Lang Will in 1606/7. The family from Plomp, who (*contra* T.H.B. Graham)¹⁴¹ were usually thought not to be descendants of Lang Will, were described by Lord Burghley as “another sort of Grahams inhabiting the Rivers Leven and Sark” (Fig. 8.3, legend).

To recapitulate: the main haplogroup of the Border Grahams is J1. What does this tell us about their deep ancestry and region of origin?

Deep ancestry of the Border Grahams

Y-haplogroup J1 is estimated to be approximately 20,000 years old and is thought to have originated somewhere between (modern) Turkey and Iraq.¹⁴² Its geographic epicentre lies in the Arabian peninsula and northeast Africa – the region flanking the entirety of the Red Sea (Fig. 8.6). As a J1 individual, the deep paternal ancestry of Lang Will – or whoever you consider to be the founder of the Western Border Grahams – almost certainly lies in this region. Over the millennia since its emergence, the haplogroup has diffused to create substantial representation in the southern Middle East, in north and northeast Africa, and in the Caucasus (Fig. 8.6). The regions which currently have the highest proportion of J1 males in the population (at a frequency of 60-100%) are Sudan (extending into South Sudan and northern Ethiopia), both coasts of the Gulf of Aqaba (i.e., eastern Sinai and the northwestern tip of Saudi Arabia), eastern Yemen (plus the contiguous part of southeastern Saudi Arabia), and Russia between the Black Sea and Caspian Sea (especially along the north western coast of the latter).

During its expansion, further Y-chromosome mutations occurred within J1, such that the resulting sub-groups correlate with specific regions and ethnicities. The Graham signature sits within a large sub-clade called J1-P58. This is a Semitic sub-clade which accounts for most (40-75%) of the population of the Arabian peninsula.¹⁴³ In addition, about 20% of Jewish people belong to this sub-clade. It even contains the Cohen Modal Haplotype (CMH) – the sub-sub-clade of the so-called “Y-chromosomal Aaron,”¹⁴⁴ the most recent common ancestor of the majority of the patrilineal Jewish priestly caste or *kohanim*, who in Biblical terms was the brother of Moses (Exod. 4:14). Today, about half of all *kohanim* conform to the CMH. To keep things in balance, the Prophet Muhammad is also presumed to have belonged to sub-clade J1-P58, and one sub-sub-clade in particular (FGC12) is associated with the spread of Islam and the Arabic language from the Arabian peninsula from the 7th century CE onward.¹⁴⁵

* Here, of course, only paternal lineage is being considered; a genetic connection between the two populations could exist via a female Graham.

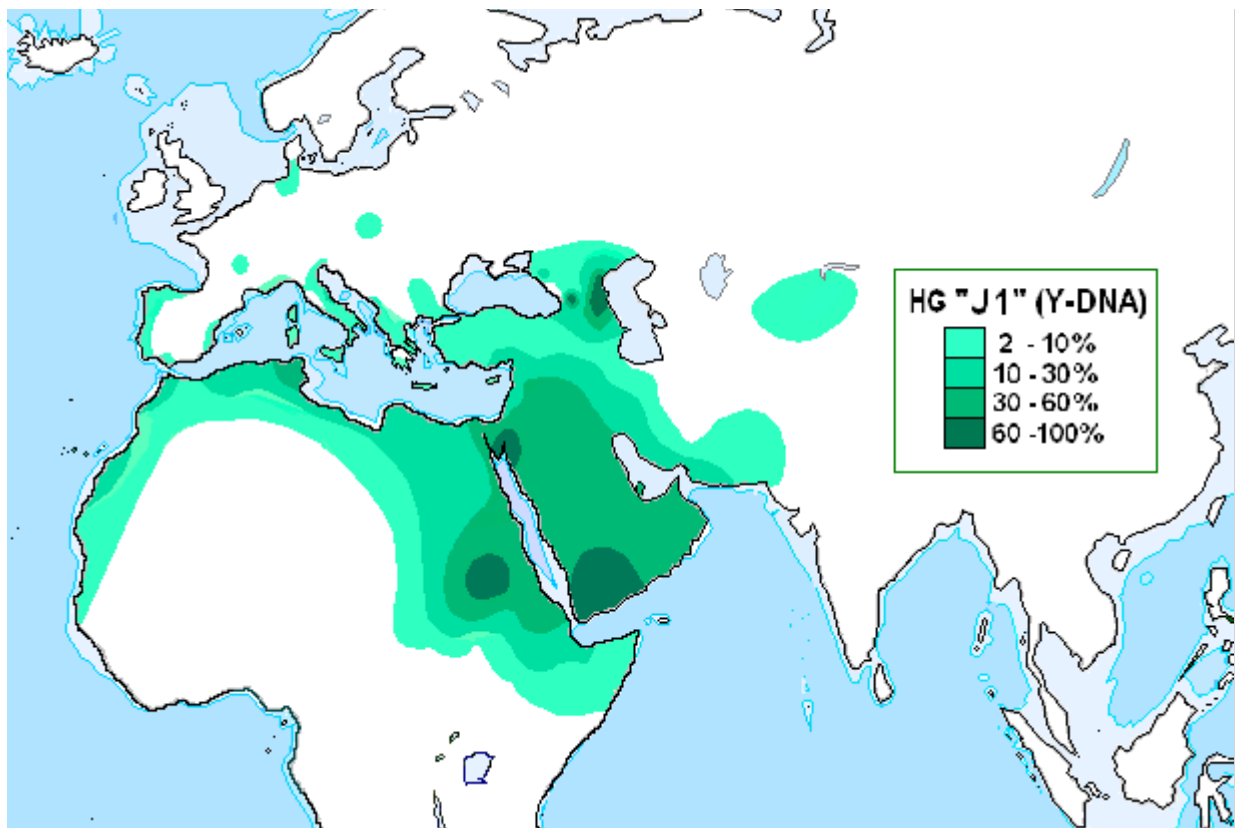


Fig. 8.6 Distribution map of Y-Haplogroup J1 in Eurasia and Africa. Image by Maulucioni, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY 3.0.¹⁴⁶

So what does this mean for the paternal ancestor of Lang Will of Stuble/Esk, or whoever it was that founded the Graham population in the western reaches of the Anglo-Scottish border? Put bluntly, it seems that he was either an Arab or a Jew. The Border Graham sub-sub-clade (J1-L1253) is approximately equidistant from the Prophet Muhammad and Aaron, sharing – potentially within as little as 240 years of each other – an ancestor with both of these religious leaders sometime in the 3rd-4th millennium BCE,¹⁴⁷ i.e., the Late Copper or Early Bronze Age.¹⁴⁸ However, the Border Grahams' genetic next of kin, as revealed by Y-haplotype analysis, clearly favours Arab roots over Jewish ones.¹⁴⁹ The Graham signature sits downstream of FGC8223, a marker that arose about 4600 years ago in Arabia (Fig. 8.7).¹⁵⁰ Outside of the British Isles, the closest Y-chromosomal relatives to the Grahams are families in the Arabian peninsula and Gulf states (Fig. 8.7): the al-Balushi of Saudi Arabia, the al-Zeyara/Banu Qahtan of Qatar, the al-Balghouni of the United Arab Emirates. The next closest set, but somewhat more distant, includes the Nagi of Egypt, the al-Ma'ani of Oman, the al-Busa'idi of Oman, and the Banu Dulaym of Bahrain. Interestingly, the second set also includes the Crouch family of England (Figs. 8.7 & 8.8).¹⁵¹ All families in the second set carry a 4000-year old marker that those in the first set do not;¹⁵² reciprocally, those in the first set (including, of course, the Border

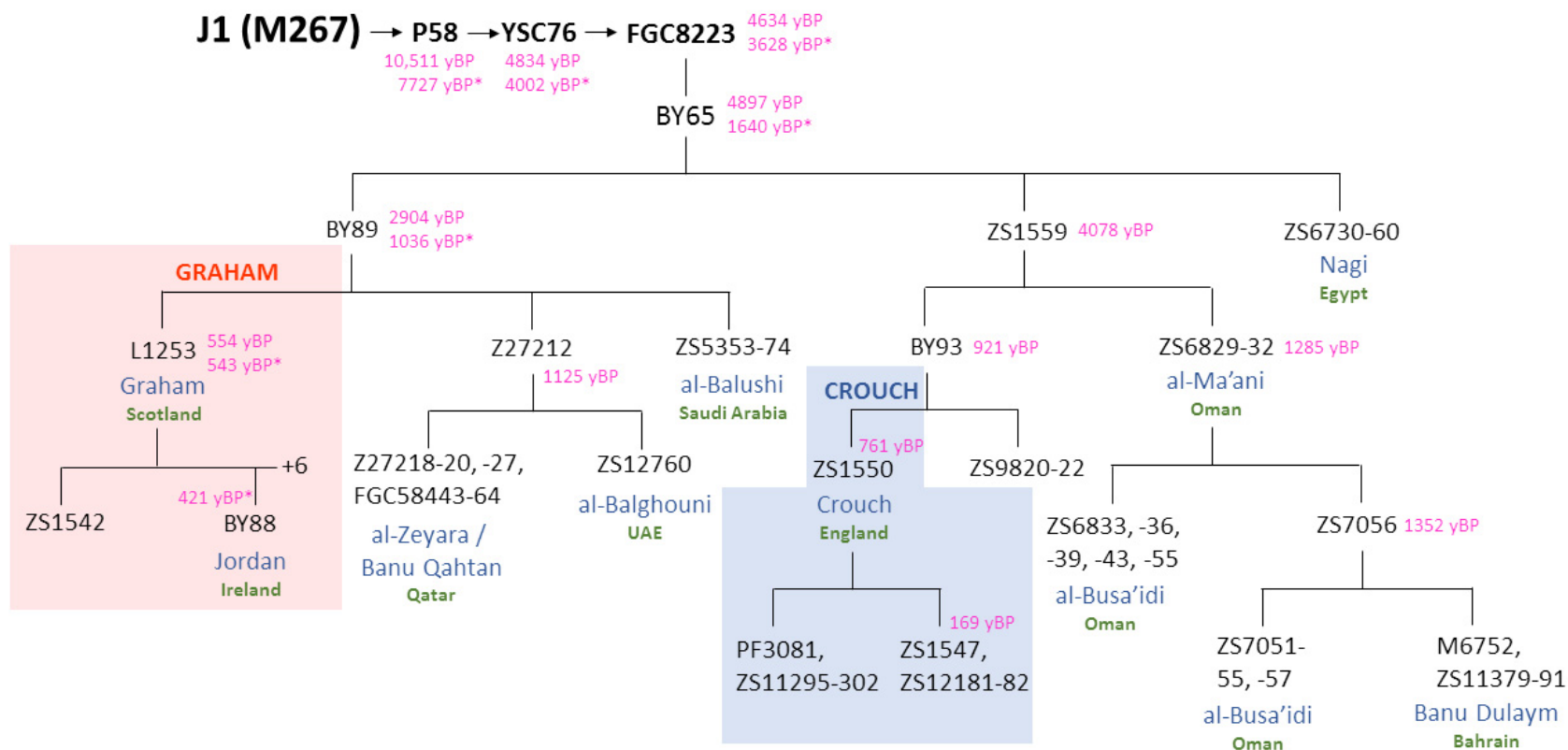


Fig. 8.7 Structure of the Y-haplogroup J1 tree (v.234)¹⁵³ downstream of marker BY65, showing the Border Graham sub-sub-clade (L1253) and all nearby branches (i.e., close paternal genetic relatives). Representative markers and their ages (estimated mutation date in yBP, years Before Present)¹⁵⁴ are shown (magenta), with – where known – ancestral family names (blue) and countries of origin for testers (green).¹⁵⁵ The GRAHAM and CROUCH stems are so marked in the original tree; no other surname stems were marked in the zone covered by this figure. Men of surname Jordan with marker BY88 are genetic Grahams (see Chapter 9 for a discussion of J-L1253 individuals with Border surnames other than Graham).

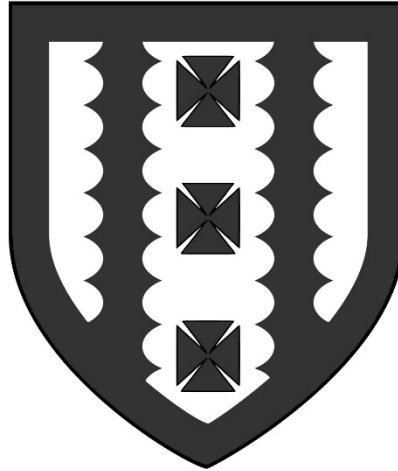


Fig. 8.8 Arms of Crouch (Crouche, Crowche), blazoned as “argent between two pallets engrailed three crosses patee sable all within a bordure of the last.”¹⁵⁶

Grahams) carry a 1000- to 3000-year old marker that those in the second set do not.¹⁵⁷ There is therefore no scope for the Crouches to be an offshoot of the Border Grahams – or *vice versa* – that arose within Britain in the last few thousand years. The simplest explanation for the observed data is that the Crouches are also descended from an Arab, but one that migrated to England independently of Lang Will’s ancestor – a different individual with a slightly different Y-haplotype. The Crouches and Grahams with Y-haplogroup J1 are related, but their last common ancestor predates (probably by millennia) the voyages that brought the two family founders to Britain. The Y-DNA evidence suggests that the Crouch line has existed in England for at least 900 years, but probably not much longer (Fig. 8.7).¹⁵⁸

An attractive origin theory: Roman garrisons of Syrian slingers and archers

One documented presence of ethnic Arabs at the Anglo-Scottish border derives from the Roman use of soldiers drawn from remote parts of their empire, and even from beyond its borders.

As a general example of such long-distance deployment, the hagiographic tale of “Euphemia and the Goth,” which is set in 396 CE, describes (with many realistic details) the billeting of Goth mercenaries in the Syrian city of Edessa in order to man the Roman general Addai’s campaign against the Huns.¹⁵⁹ Ethnically the Goths were an offshoot of the Getes of Sweden, who by 378 had been granted lands by the Romans along the Danube frontier and in north-west Greece; they were especially valued by the Roman army for their prowess on horseback.¹⁶⁰

Conversely, and of direct relevance to our investigation, contingents of Syrian slingers and archers were stationed on the Scottish frontier by the Romans in the 2nd century CE. At the time of the push northwards from Hadrian’s Wall to establish the Antonine Wall

(ca. 140 CE), a group of Syrian slingers was stationed at the South Fort at Burnswark, near Lockerbie in Dumfries & Galloway (Fig. 8.9). Forming part of the Eighth German Legion, the company sallied forth and hurled hundreds of lead shot toward the

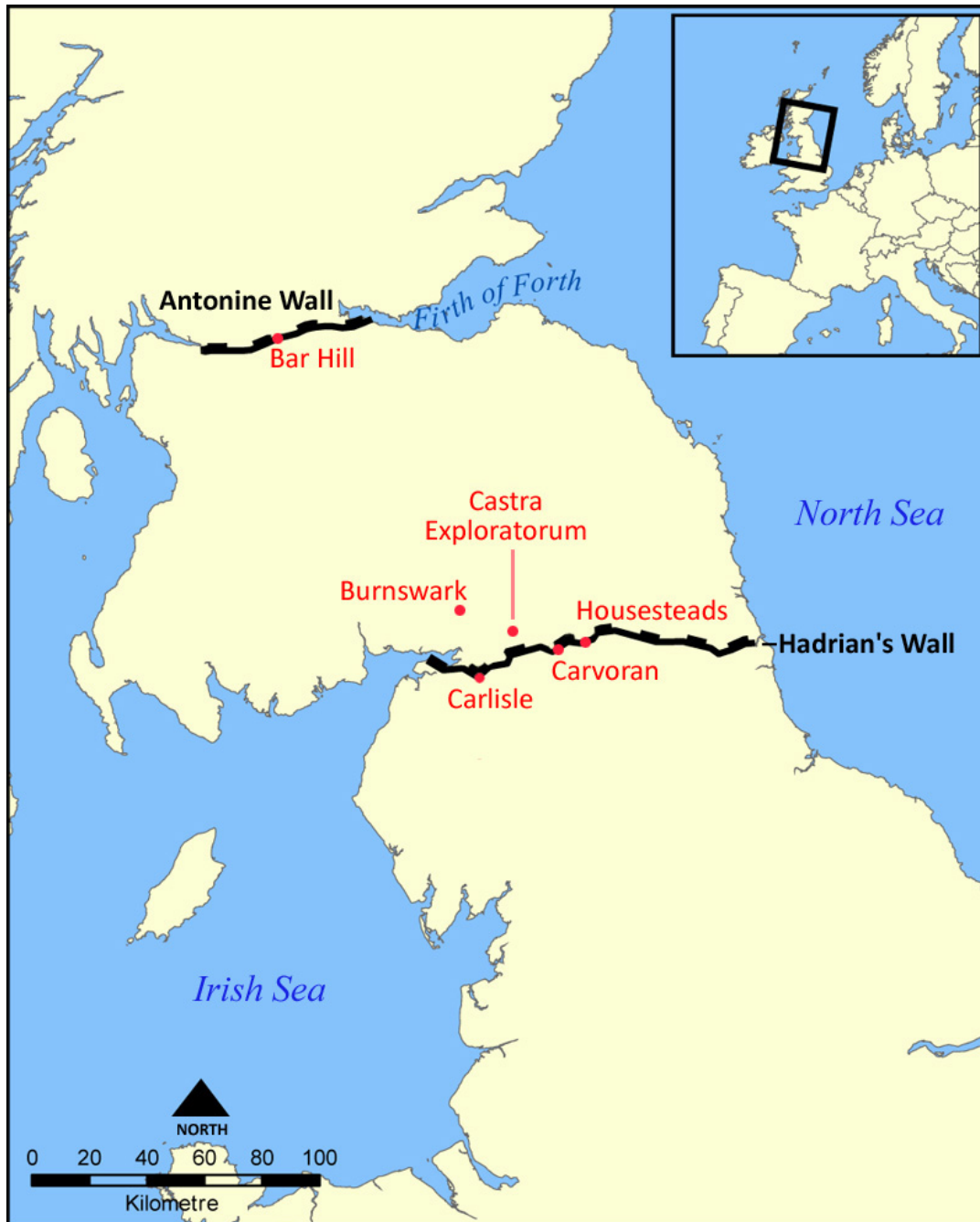


Fig. 8.9 Map of northern Britain showing the two Roman walls and the location of Roman forts mentioned in the text. Modified from a German original by Norman Einstein and Manuel Heinemann, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.¹⁶¹

Caledonian hillfort of Burnswark.¹⁶² These projectiles were made of lead mined in the Rhineland, where the Legion had previously been stationed. The shot landed in dense patches that have recently been analysed by archaeologists.¹⁶³ Burnswark had previously been thought of as a “practice range” for the Roman army, but is now considered to have been a native hillfort manned by local Selgovae tribesmen. At first it was thought that the fort had been subjected to a protracted siege by the Romans, whereas new evidence indicates strongly that it was subjected to a formidable assault. The pattern of slingshot in and around the hillfort is indicative of “exemplary force,”¹⁶⁴ and is likely to have resulted in a massacre of the native defenders.¹⁶⁵

In 2009, Jim Farmer proposed that the J1 Grahams of the Western Border might be the direct descendants of Syrian auxiliaries stationed in that region in the 2nd century CE. Specifically:¹⁶⁶

A small cluster of J1 descendants found in Scotland has close ties to a very localized place and it is this location that suggests another reason for their J1 ancestry. These descendants have been associated for generations with the area just north of Hadrian’s Wall, and it is near this location that a very specialized group of Syrians are known to have lived. They were members of a Roman auxiliary cohort made up entirely of Syrian archers. This cohort of 500 men was originally mustered about 130 CE from the Syrian town of Hamath, not far from the ancient biblical town of Antioch. From Syria the archers were sent to the British Isles as an auxiliary force. According to carvings found at the Roman fort called Carvoran, they helped restore Hadrian’s Wall in 134.

The Hamath in question is the modern city of Hama, on the Orontes River in west-central Syria. Farmer continues:¹⁶⁷

The purpose behind sending this group of Syrian archers to Britain and maintaining them somewhere near the wall may have been more than just enlisting them to fight off marauding natives attacking from the north. If, as suspected, the archers were also used as wild game hunters, [...] therefore stationing them near the upland woods above the wall was beneficial. As hunters they would have been the ones most likely to go beyond the wall. Other carvings confirm that they did go further north when Emperor Anto[n]in[us Pius] built the other wall in northern Scotland about 142 CE, but their exact place of residence for the ten years in between has not been found.

If the Hamath archers were hunters, a likely choice for their location is the Roman camp built just north of the western end of Hadrian’s Wall called *Castra Exploratorum*. (It is now the modern day town of Netherby in Cumbria.)

The remains of *Castra Exploratorum* (Fig. 8.9) now lie under Netherby Hall, a 15th-century tower house. In its heyday it was a substantial Roman settlement which hosted the Cohors I Nervanorum, a 500-strong infantry regiment from Gaul, and later the Cohors I Hispanorum, a part-mounted regiment manned by 500-1000 men from Spain.¹⁶⁸

Having placed some Syrian archers at *Castra Exploratorum*, Farmer goes on to suggest that some of them or their descendants eventually integrated with the Selgovae, the native Celtic Britons of the territory in which they are presumed to have hunted – the western land north of Hadrian’s Wall, in later times the western land north and south of

the Anglo-Scottish border. In this region lies Eskdale, which was acquired by Henry of Dalkeith's marriage to the Avenel heiress in the mid-13th century and remained among the estates of his direct successors until 1341 (Figs. 1.1 & 8.4). We may therefore suppose that one or more of the local families – descendants of the Syrian soldiers who arrived there over a millennium earlier – took the surname of their landlord as their own. If the ancestors of the Border Grahams were indeed Syrian archers, it may be no coincidence that the earliest non-noble Grahams documented at the Anglo-Scottish Border – Thomas Grame (Scottish Marches, 1383-5, serving under Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland) and John Grame (in the garrison of Berwick, 1403-4, under John of Lancaster, Duke of Bedford) – were themselves both archers (Fig. 8.4).¹⁶⁹

Farmer's hypothesis seems to build upon an earlier report about Syrian archers in northern Britain that was published in 2007 under the pen-name "Peronis," a paper that documents the inscriptions and monuments of the Cohors Prima Hamiorum Sagittaria (First Cohort of Syrian Archers).¹⁷⁰ This group of 500 men, drawn from Hama in Syria, arrived at the northern frontier of Roman Britain in 120 CE and was stationed at Magnae Carvetiorum (Carvoran Fort) in the centre of Hadrian's Wall (Fig. 8.9).¹⁷¹ The unit then transferred to the legionary-built fort at Bar Hill in the centre of the Antonine Wall (Fig. 8.9), which it occupied from 142-157 CE. It then transferred back to Carvoran around 163-166 CE, and rebuilt the fort in stone.¹⁷² Other locations that probably held Syrian archers include Housesteads, another fort in the centre of Hadrian's Wall (Fig. 8.9),¹⁷³ and Carlisle Castle still contains part of a 3rd-century altar that was dedicated by a Syrian soldier of the 20th Legion (Fig. 8.9).¹⁷⁴ Since Syrian slingers are believed to have been active at Burnswark and Syrian archers were certainly stationed at Carvoran, then *Castra Exploratorum* – which lies directly between these two sites (Fig. 8.9) – is also likely to have hosted Syrian soldiers of this type.

The papers relating to the Syrian auxiliaries and their potential as antecedents to the J1 Grahams were drawn to my attention at the end of 2017 by my J1-L1253 friend (and Genetic Distance = 0 relative) David Noble, of Basingstoke, England, to whom I am most grateful.¹⁷⁵ In return, I objected that if these Syrians are indeed the origin of the Border J1 haplogroup, including both his and mine,¹⁷⁶ then one might wonder why our closest Arab relatives seem to be in Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar (Fig. 8.7) rather than in Syria. David countered this by proposing that the apparent epicentre of Graham-related Arabs in the Gulf may largely reflect the prevalence of wealthy individuals in that region who are interested in determining whether they are descendants of the Prophet Muhammad. Thus there may be equally close or closer relations to the J1 Grahams in Syria, where the relevant sub-clade (J1-P58) represents >20% of the population. He also pointed out that Syrians are likely to be under-represented in genetic genealogy databases on account of the limited pockets of affluence in the country and – since 2011 – the disruption and hardship caused by the Syrian civil war.

Epilogue

If our current hypothesis that the “noble Grahams” belong to Y-haplogroup I1 is correct (Chapter 2), then the Border Grahams cannot have been descended from the elder line of William de Grame, as endorsed by T.H.B. Graham (Fig. 8.4). As mentioned above, there is then no blood-tie at all between the Border Grahams and the noble Grahams; the Grahams of the west are genetically unrelated to the Grahams of the east.* The deep paternal ancestry of the Border Grahams lies in the Middle East or north/east Africa – most likely among an Arab population of the former, with Syria being an option favoured by historical narrative, and the city of Hama being an especially likely candidate. In contrast, the deep paternal ancestry of the “noble Grahams” would lie in Scandinavia (Chapter 2). Moreover, if the Border Grahams are indeed descendants of Syrian auxiliaries stationed by the Romans at the northwestern frontier of the empire in the 2nd century CE, and if the founder of the Montrose line did not arrive until the Norman conquest in 1066, then – in terms of British history – the Border Grahams are senior to the “noble Grahams” by at least eight centuries.

The Antonine Wall has long featured in the origin myths of the Scottish Grahams. Specifically, the ancestor of the “noble Graham” line is supposed to have been a Celtic, Pictish, or Scoto-Danish leader who helped King Fergus of Scotland to breach this barrier around 405 CE (Chapter 2: CAMP 2). For numerous good reasons, this apocryphal story is given no credit by modern historians and genealogists. How ironic, then, to find that there may well be a real connection between the earliest proto-Grahams in Scotland and both the Antonine and Hadrianic walls. Even more ironic is the fact that the role of these people was not to attack the Roman occupiers but to defend them, and that at least one major assault on indigenous Celts north of Hadrian’s Wall – the one at Burnswark, which probably ended in a massacre of the natives – is likely to have been their handiwork.

* As before, only paternal lineage is being considered here; a genetic connection between the two populations could exist via a female Graham.



The Grahams of Queen's County (Co. Laois)

The origin of the Irish Grahams who for generations – spanning at least the 19th and 20th centuries – farmed in Rossadown, near Mountrath in Queen's County (subsequently called Co. Leix and now Co. Laois) has, until now, been a mystery.¹ Ordinarily, this Protestant family² in a central part of the Republic would not warrant any mention in a brief overview of Graham history, but – since they happen to be my immediate forebears – you will have to indulge me. And, as it turns out, their story (assembled here for the first time) is interesting in its own right, and helps us to appreciate the broader sweep of Graham history.

Of the Graham farmhouse standing at Rossadown in *ca.* 1850, no trace could be found in 2015 (Fig. 9.1a-c). The subsequent dwelling, which was built in the late 19th century about 430 metres from the site of the old house,³ has undergone many modifications, but still stands (Fig. 9.2a,b). From a combination of family recollection and the usual records of birth, marriage, census and death, my pedigree (Fig. 9.3) can be documented securely back to my paternal great-great-grandfather, John Graham (b. 1797 d. 1875) in Rossadown. Family memory names his father as John Robert Graham (b. 1767) (Fig. 9.3), but there – for the present, at least – the genealogical trail runs cold. Parish records reveal that, in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, there were other Grahams of the same religion in nearby townlands whose relationship to the Rossadown family is unclear. For example, Thomas Graham of neighbouring Monasup may or may not have been another son of John Robert Graham (b. 1767); either way, he and his wife Mary had one son and five daughters between 1810 and 1817.⁴ James Graham of Cardtown may not have considered himself related to those who shared his surname at Rossadown, 6 km (3.7 mi) distant. He and his wife Elinor had three sons and seven daughters between 1777 and 1797,⁵ and there were Grahams at Cardtown until at least 1918.⁶ Equally, there may be no close connection between the Rossadown family and the William Graham (b. 1740) who in 1761 married Elinor Dane at Ballyfin, 9 km (5.6 mi) from Rossadown.⁷

Typically, Irish Grahams are thought to be descended from the reivers of the Western Marches in general and the Debatable Land in particular (Chapter 8). There are claims that, subsequent to the first shipload of Border Grahams bound for Co. Roscommon (described in detail in Chapter 8), there were further transportations of this type to the north of Ireland; Sir Walter Scott allegedly mentions two such shipments, including a company of Graham deportees that were landed in Groom's Port, Co. Down.⁸ However, it is difficult to corroborate these claims, and the supposed name-lists indicate substantial confusion both with free settlers and with the original deportees to the Roscommon settlement. Others claim merely that exiled reivers migrated to Northern Ireland,⁹ leaving open the possibility that they chose their destination voluntarily. Overall, it is likely that most of these migrants made their way north from the failed settlement in Co.

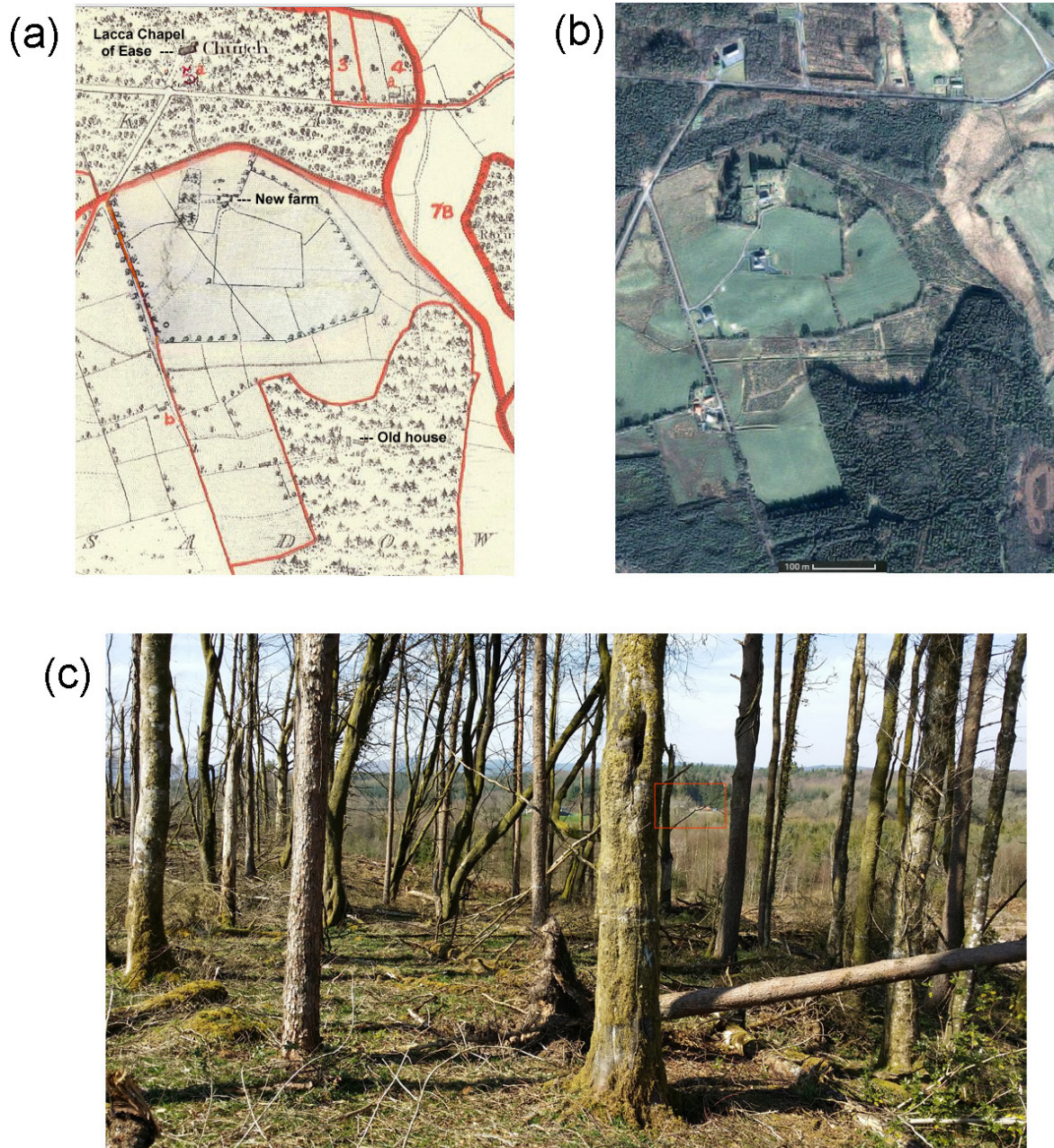


Fig. 9.1 Rossadown, Co. Laois. **(a)** Composite map showing both the old Graham house (mapped *ca.* 1850) on the wooded high ground known locally as Bark Hill,¹⁰ and the new Graham house and farm out-buildings (mapped *ca.* 1911) on the plain below the wooded ridge. Lacca Chapel of Ease, a satellite of the Church of Ireland church at Antrim (Coolrain, Co. Laois),¹¹ is also shown; it appears only on the later map. **(b)** Recent satellite photograph of the area covered by the map, shown to the same scale; image courtesy of Google Earth, with whom copyright remains. A scale bar is shown at bottom centre. **(c)** Photograph from the approximate site of the old Graham house, looking towards the new house and farm out-buildings (red box), taken 9 April, 2015. The woods on the ridge had been devastated by recent clear-felling activities (not shown), and no trace of the old building could be found.

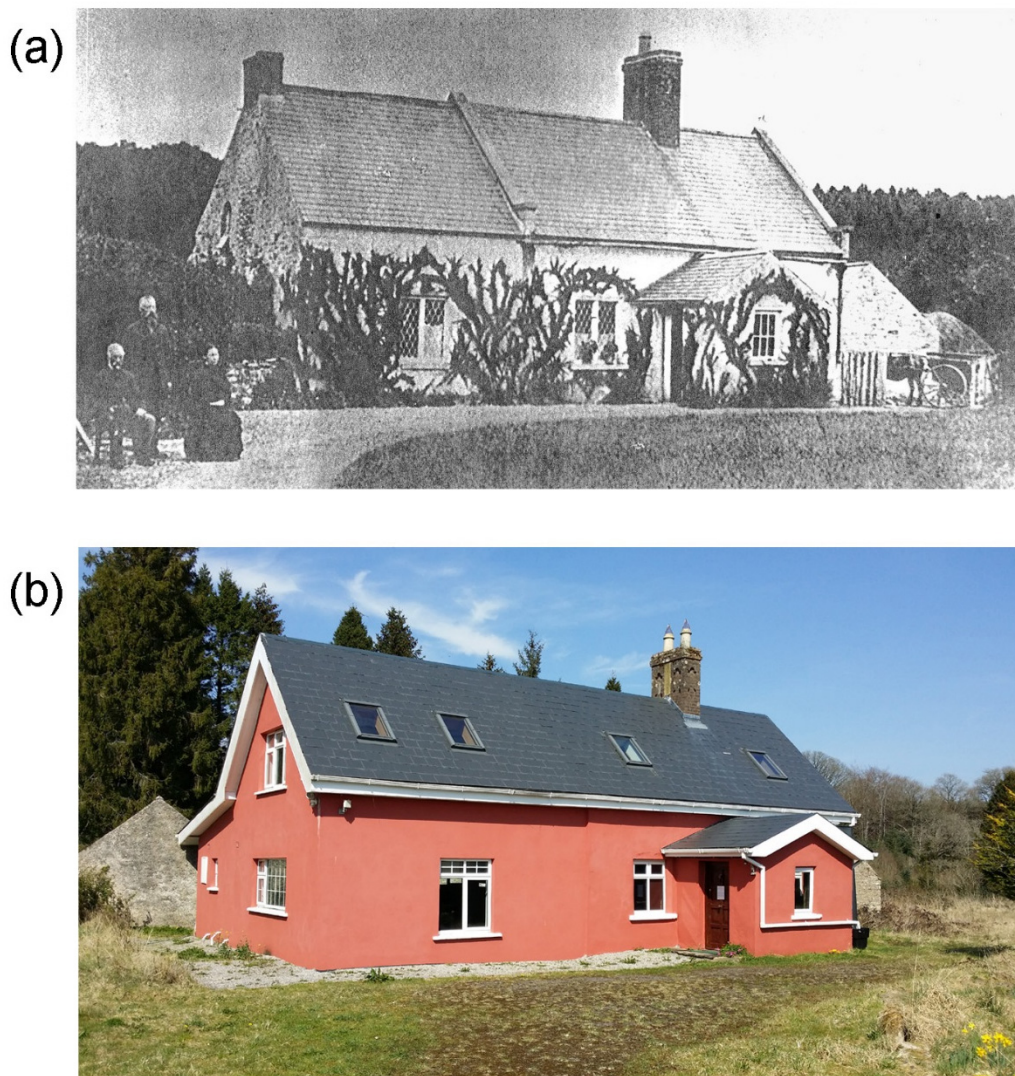


Fig. 9.2 The new Graham house at Rossadown, **(a)** As photographed in the late 19th century; the group on the left are believed to be Robert Graham (1848-1931) and his parents, John and Mary Graham.¹² **(b)** Photograph of the same house, taken 9 April, 2015. The farm out-buildings lie behind the house and are in a state of disrepair. The complex is no longer in the possession of the Graham family.

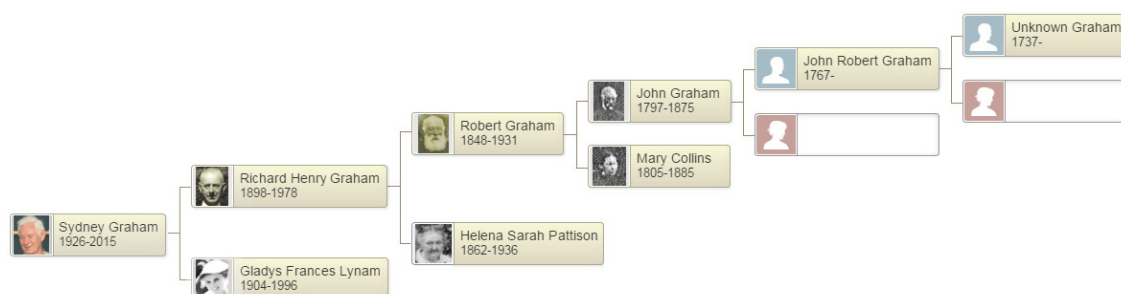


Fig. 9.3 The pedigree of my father, Sydney Graham, is documented back to John Graham (b.1797) of Rossadown, Co. Laois. Beyond that, family memory provides clues for just another generation or two.¹³ My grandfather, Harry Graham, relocated from Rossadown to Dublin, bringing his branch of the family to the capital.

Roscommon, since this cohort is known to have scattered in search of better locations in Ireland.¹⁴ The north may have appealed because it had attracted Protestant Lowland Scots as settlers since 1600, and from 1609 the influx of Scots was greatly amplified by the Plantation of Ulster.¹⁵ Irrespective of how they got there, the ex-Border Grahams arriving in Ulster settled especially in Co. Fermanagh, from which they spread widely through the surrounding counties.¹⁶ Another major focus of settlement was Glenwherry, Co. Antrim.^{17,18} Today, the surname is overwhelmingly concentrated in Ulster, particularly in counties Down and Fermanagh, as well as Armagh, Monaghan and Tyrone.¹⁹ The problem for us is that these epicentres lie in Northern Ireland, a long way from Co. Laois in the centre of the Republic.

Free settlers: Sir Richard and Sir George

There were Grahams in Queen's County as early as 1577, because – under orders from the Lord Deputy of Ireland – they assisted in that year's scandalous massacre of the Irish chieftains at Mullaghmast, in the adjacent county of Kildare.²⁰ We also know that several Border Grahams descended from Fergus of Mote (one of Lang Will's sons; Figs. 8.1 & 9.4) had settled voluntarily in Ireland before 1606. The report that Fergus' son Richard or



Fig. 9.4 Coat of arms granted on 10th December, 1553, by the Norroy King of Arms to Fergus Graham of the Mote, Lydysdale, Cumberland, for services rendered in the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI. “Barry of six pieces argent and gules, over all in bend a branch of an oke root branched, within a border engrailed sable, on the first gules a boar’s head coupéd argent. Crest: an arm bendy in four pieces gules and azure holding in the hand charnell a branch of the bend, on a wreath argent and gules, mantled of the same.”²¹ The “oke root” emblazoned in the Graham shield symbolized the antiquity of the Graham family and the stability of its loyalty to the crown of England.²² The boar-head has precedents in early Graham heraldry (Chapter 1).

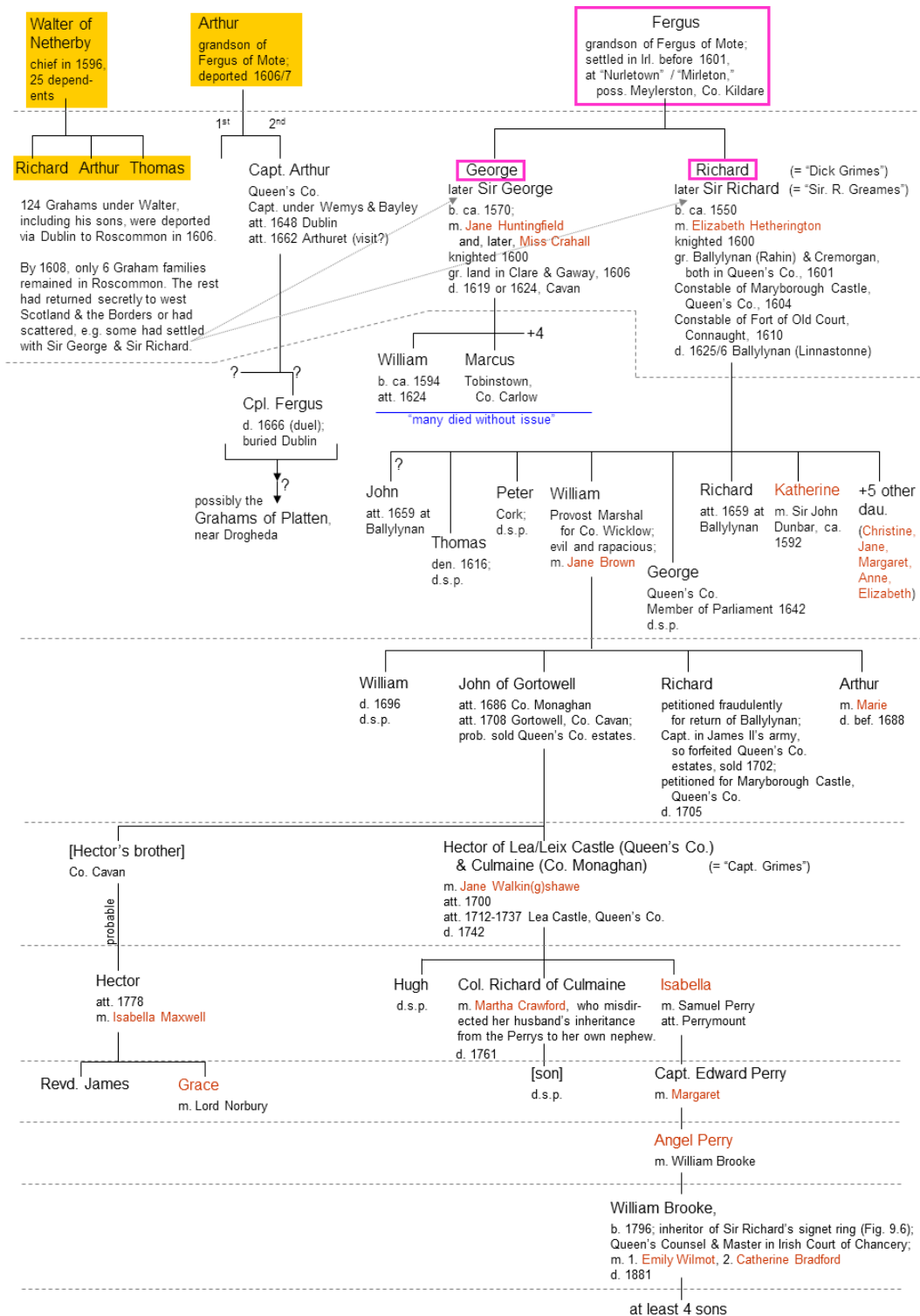


Fig. 9.5 Genealogical tree of Graham adventurers (free settlers) and deportees from the Anglo-Scottish Western Border (Fig. 8.1) for whom details of Irish descendants are known.²³ The relocations to Ireland occurred in the late 1500s and early 1600s. Colour conventions and abbreviations as for Fig. 8.1 with, in addition, m., married; d.s.p., died *sine prole* (i.e., died without issue); bef., before. In contrast to Fig. 8.1, daughters are here included in the count of offspring (+4 indicates 4 children, etc.); as in Fig. 8.3, where women are named, the text is coloured red-brown.

Roger went to Ireland, where in 1565 he had a grant of the advowson of Whitechurch, Co. Kildare, is somewhat dubious, even though this living was later held by Fergus' Irish descendants.²⁴ Fergus (Fig. 8.1) does not seem to have had a son called Roger, and his son Richard was Richard of Breconhill (Brackenhill) – the man who built Brackenhill Tower in the western Borderlands in 1586 and aided Buccleuch in springing Kinmont Willie from Carlisle Castle in 1596 (Chapter 8). If Richard did go to Ireland in the 1560s, he evidently did not stay there. The story may reflect the migration of some other Graham(s) from the Border country to Co. Laois around that time,²⁵ which in turn might account for the Graham presence there in 1577.

More concretely, one Fergus Graham – a grandson of Fergus of Mote (Figs. 8.1 & 9.5) – is reported to have settled voluntarily in Ireland before 1606, and seemingly did so before 1602.²⁶ His abode of Nurletown or Mirleton cannot be identified with certainty, but may be Meylerston in Co. Kildare.²⁷ Fergus Graham's two sons, Richard (b. *ca.* 1550) and George (b. *ca.* 1570), had both been born in Scotland.²⁸ Like their father, they moved voluntarily to Ireland (Figs. 8.1 & 9.5), seemingly during the Nine Years' War (1594-1603), and settled there as Crown servitors.²⁹ Both brothers distinguished themselves as leaders of horsemen in Sir George Carew's army;³⁰ in separate battles, both prevailed over much superior forces and received injuries in the process.³¹ For his victory over the Sungan Earl of Desmond, Richard received a knighthood in 1600, with the crown vallery (a prized military decoration) as a crest (Fig. 9.6). George was knighted in 1603.³² In 1601, Sir Richard Graham – who also appears in the records as Sir R. Greames and Dick Grimes – commanded 150 men against the Spaniards at Kinsale, and was rewarded by



Fig. 9.6 Schematic of Sir Richard Graham's signet ring, which survived until at least the 1860's in the possession of William Brooke, QC, Master in the Irish Court of Chancery (Fig. 9.5). It is described as "a large circle of heavy and pure silver, containing a stone of red porphyry, on which is engraven the knight's badge – a small shield, divided by a Templar's sword, and R. G. engraven on each side of the blade, a wreath of wild laurel, the badge of the Graham, half surrounding the shield, emblematic of victory, as the sword is of military service, and the initials expressive of identity; the whole surmounted with the vallery crown."³³ This last honour – "the reward of him who first forced the enemy's entrenchments" – he received from Elizabeth I.³⁴ For a time it was appropriated (without any justification) by the younger line of Grahams at Netherby/Esk, i.e., descendants of Richard Graham of Plomp (who became 1st Baronet of Esk in 1629; Fig. 8.3) for use above *their* coat of arms,³⁵ and passed thence to the Grahams of Norton-Conyers, York.³⁶

Elizabeth with the grant of Ballylynan (known also as Ballylehane, Ballyneheran, Ballihenan, Linnastonne, Rahenderry or Rahin) and Cremorgan, both in Co. Laois.^{37,38} In 1604, he was the Constable and Governor of Maryborough Castle (Portlaoise Castle), also in Co. Laois, and served as the first High Sheriff of that county.³⁹ In 1610, Sir Richard had become Constable of the Fort of Old Court in Connaught, and (along with Sir George) was granted lands in Co. Cavan,⁴⁰ but he had evidently put down roots at Ballylynan, since this is where he died in 1625/6 (Fig. 9.7).⁴¹ Upon his death, some of this estate was sold to the Weldons.⁴² For his part, Sir George Graham was granted land in Co. Galway in 1606,⁴³ and also acquired lands in Carlow, Kildare, Wicklow and elsewhere.⁴⁴ He died either in 1619 or 1624, seemingly in Cavan.

Both of these knights had families. Sir Richard had at least ten children (including at least five sons) by his wife, Elizabeth Hetherington, who lived on until 1663.⁴⁵ His son George led cavalry under Sir Richard Greenville at the battle of Kilrush in 1642, and became a Member of Parliament in the same year.⁴⁶ In the following year, he defended Ballylynan Castle against the Earl of Castlehaven,⁴⁷ whose memoirs recall it to have been “commanded by the Grimes, a valiant people, with a strong garrison;”⁴⁸ “English and Scottish mungrells, the best horsemen in them parts...”⁴⁹ Around the same time, he successfully broke a three-day siege of the castle by Irish insurgents under Macdonnell and O’Dempsey.⁵⁰ In Pender’s Census of 1659, Sir Richard’s widow Elizabeth and some of her sons are recorded as “English” titulados of Ballylynan, Co. Laois.⁵¹ The record is less full for the family of Sir Richard’s brother. Sir George married twice, first to Jane Huntingfield, and after that to a Miss Crahall; by the former he had six children, of which

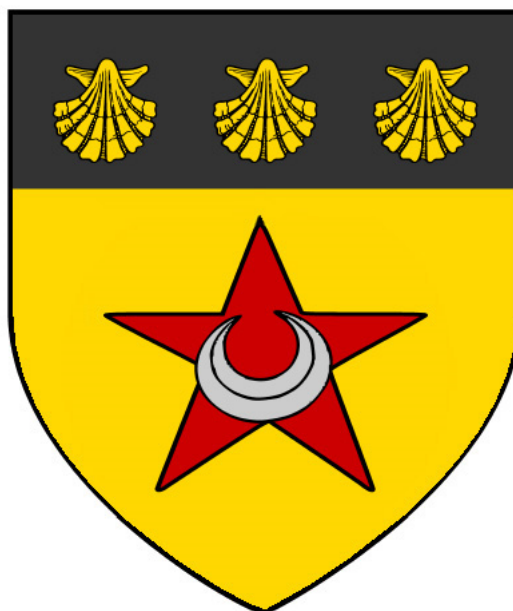


Fig. 9.7 Coat of arms of Sir Richard Graham of Ballylynan, Queen’s County: “Or, a mullet Gules charged with a crescent Argent, on a chief Sable three escallops of the field.”⁵² The device of a silver crescent on a red background beneath a black chief charged with three golden scallops is also seen in the 1st and 4th quarters of the 1772 arms of Graham of Gartmore, which were re-matriculated in 1972.⁵³

at least two were male: William, b. *ca.* 1594, and Marcus, later of Tobinstown, Co. Carlow.⁵⁴

One might expect that the origins of the later Grahams at Rossadown would be found in one or other of these lineages, and perhaps especially in Sir Richard's descendants at Ballylynan, which is just 35 km (22 mi) from Rossadown. But here history has been cruel to the amateur genealogist, for the surname in both lines appears to have dwindled and ultimately died. In 1863, Sir Bernard Burke observed that "Many of Sir George's issue appear to have passed away *sine prole*," i.e. without offspring.⁵⁵ The same is true of three of Sir Richard's sons, namely Thomas, Peter and George. The only sustained lineage recorded in the history books is one descending from Sir Richard's son, William. William is remembered unfavourably for his cruel persecution of the O'Byrnes with the intention of usurping their lands in Co. Wicklow.⁵⁶ Late in the 17th century, William's son, Richard – perhaps inspired by his father's bad example – petitioned fraudulently for the return of the portion of Rahin (Ballylynan, Sir Richard's seat in Co. Laois) that had long ago been sold to the Weldons.^{57,58} He went on to be a captain in James II's army during the Jacobite Rising (Chapter 7), for which he forfeited his part of the family estate in Co. Laois;⁵⁹ it was sold in 1702.⁶⁰ No children are recorded for Richard. Another of William's sons, John of Gortowell, appears to have feared the confiscation of his land, and therefore sold his part of the family estates (including land in Co. Laois) in order to consolidate in Co. Cavan. John did have children; his son, Hector Graham (known locally as Capt. Grimes) held land in Culmaine, Co. Monaghan, but returned to Co. Laois and occupied Lea (Leix) Castle for 25 years (1712-1737). Hector is reported to have been honest and chivalrous, but fell foul of an O'Dempsey whose perjury almost had Hector hanged for horse-stealing.⁶¹ Unfortunately, Hector's only recorded grandson – son of Col. Richard Graham of Culmaine – died without issue prior to 1761,⁶² so once again the genealogical trail runs cold.

In an evocative eulogy based on the coat of arms granted in 1553 to Fergus of Mote (Fig. 9.4), the patriarch of these Irish lineages, Sir Bernard Burke commented on the decline of Fergus' house in the following words:⁶³

The old "oke roote" bore but few branches – its leaves had not been for healing, but for hurt; not beneficial, but contrariwise baleful; and the retribution of barrenness had been theirs, and God had withered and broken the boughs in his just and holy anger.

Later, and with characteristic prolixity, Sir Bernard concluded his judgement of the landed Grahams of Queen's County:⁶⁴

If evil were to be erased from the page of History because it is evil, we should know nothing of the character of Alexander the Great, Pizarro of Spain, or Catherine II of Russia. True it is that the Grahams were violent, rapacious, and at times unprincipled, and, no doubt, a little mad occasionally; but then they were valiant, loyal, and most chivalrous. Possessing at one period great power and position, they were naturally subjected to equally great temptation; they had also the misfortune to live and flourish in a contaminating time, when wickedness sat with an unblushing brow in high places [...] These Grahams were not literary men; the hand that wielded the sword so well was maladroit to handle the pen; they have left no journal, and transmitted no biography: we,

perhaps, know too much of their failings, and too little of their virtues; their public deeds are on record, and “live after them;” their private worth may be “interred with their bones.” As regards personal daring, they were brilliant and intrepid soldiers, “grand old cavaliers,” Bayards in bravery, and without question “sans peur,” though, alas! not “sans reproche.” [...] Lastly, the crimes they committed, which were justly punished by the extinction of their race and name, may serve as beacons on the headlands, to warn us off these dark cliffs where honour and principle lie shipwrecked.

The extinction may have been less complete than Sir Bernard imagined; there is always the possibility that some collateral branches of the family perpetuated Fergus Graham’s line in central Ireland. Hector Graham’s brother appears to have continued the line in the northerly county of Cavan (Fig. 9.5). Besides Col. Richard, Hector had another son, Hugh, of whom Sir Bernard knew nothing more than that he died without marrying. It is possible that Hector’s uncles – Arthur, who was at least married,⁶⁵ and Richard – may have had male heirs whose existence was not recorded. There are also genealogical loose ends in the earlier generations.⁶⁶

Deportees: The ship’s complement of September, 1606

In our attempt to find the origin of the Rossadown Grahams, there are good alternatives to clutching at lacunae in the genealogical tree of Sir Richard and Sir George. One highly plausible option is the contingent of Grahams exiled from the Western Border by James I/VI. As we saw in Chapter 8, they arrived in Dublin by ship in September, 1606, destined for settlement in Co. Roscommon. The disembarking Grahams were met “by two gentlemen of their own name, Irish residents, who promised to help them to settle.”⁶⁷ A more specific chronicler mentions “the succour they received from two knights of their name and race who met them on their arrival, and comforted them with kindly entertainment and promises of help.”⁶⁸ This greeting party, of course, consisted of Sir Richard and Sir George Graham.⁶⁹ When the Roscommon plantation collapsed (Chapter 8), many of the families moved onto Sir Richard and Sir George’s estates.⁷⁰ The former, having his main estate in Co. Laois, obviously holds the greater interest for us. In 1643, the Earl of Castlehaven claimed that Ballylynan held over one thousand Englishmen and Protestants, while other accounts mention 250 to 500 refugees.⁷¹ Either way, the estate was clearly well peopled by that time.

Of the nine baronies in Queen’s County that were assessed in Pender’s Census of 1659, all of the Grahams were found in the Barony of Ballyadams, in which Ballylynan is situated.⁷² For Ballylynan, the “English” titulados at that time were the surviving family of Sir Richard,⁷³ augmented by a total of 45 unnamed Irish people. Graham was also one of the most prevalent names among the Irish of this Barony, with 9 Grahams among a total of 592; for comparison, the most popular Irish surname, Dun, was shared by 14 people. The list of “Irish” would have included settlers of Scots extraction,⁷⁴ and would presumably have accommodated Grahams banished from the English side of the Border as well. In other words, the families of any Anglo-Scottish deportees who had abandoned Roscommon to settle as tenants on Sir Richard’s estates would have been counted as Irish in the Barony of Ballyadams. In fact, many of the early settlers applied for and were granted “denization,” since it was otherwise illegal for them to buy or

bequeath land in Ireland.⁷⁵ Being declared denizens of Ireland naturalised them and enabled them to purchase and grant land in their new homeland.⁷⁶ For this reason, the list of Irish at Ballylynan may even have included some cadet or collateral members of Sir Richard's family who had found it in their interest to become denizens of Ireland.

One other mechanism is known to have generated Irish Grahams. In some parts of Ireland, indigenous Irish by the name O'Greachain chose to Anglicise their surname to Graham, but this is unlikely to be the case for Co. Laois. For a start, the O'Greachain heartlands lie in Co. Westmeath and Co. Galway, neither of which are even adjacent to our region. Second, as mentioned at the start of this chapter, the Grahams that we are interested in were Protestants, whereas rebadged O'Greachains would most likely have remained Roman Catholic. Third, the usual Anglicised form of O'Greachain is its phonetic equivalent – Grehan – rather than Graham, and in any case conversions to English spellings were more likely to occur in the 18th and 19th centuries than in the 17th century.⁷⁷ Fourth, the renaming process provides no explanation for the highly partisan distribution of the surname Graham in 1659 – i.e., the startling fact that all the Grahams of Queen's County were concentrated in a single Barony, the Barony of Ballyadams. In contrast, the re-settlement of Graham refugees at Ballylynan in that Barony and their denization as Irish over the subsequent half-century would be expected to give rise to a situation just like the one recorded in Pender's Census. The concentration of all the Grahams in the one Barony also suggests that the early Graham line present in Co. Laois in 1577 had been lost by 1659, or that it too had consolidated at Ballylynan.

We have already seen that Arthur, the brother of William of Mote and of Fergus, the father of Sir Richard and Sir George, was amongst those deported to Ireland (Chapter 8 & Fig. 8.1). His second son, another Arthur, rose to some prominence in the army there, serving in Queen's County as a captain under Sir Patrick Wemys and Col. Robert Bayley (Fig. 9.5).⁷⁸ His service can be construed as evidence that some descendants of the exiled Grahams – who in 1610 the Lord Deputy of Ireland still considered to be “ill neighbours, for they are a fractious and naughty people”⁷⁹ – morphed fairly quickly into respectable citizens, at least in Co. Laois. Interestingly, Capt. Arthur is recorded as being in Dublin in 1648, where he renewed the coat of arms of his great-grandfather, Fergus of Mote (Fig. 9.4). The Cpl. Fergus Graham who died in a duel in 1666, and who lies buried in Dublin, also bore these arms, which suggests that he may have been a son of Capt. Arthur.⁸⁰ The latter seems to have maintained some links with his ancestral Borderland, insofar as he is attested at Arthuret (a village on the River Esk; Fig. 8.2) in 1662. In Ireland, he was probably the progenitor of the Grahams of Platten, near Drogheda.⁸¹

Insights from genetic genealogy

At this point, we can identify three plausible mechanisms for the existence of Grahams in Rossadown, Co. Laois, in the 19th and 20th centuries. Central to all three options is the previously mentioned fact that Rossadown is just 35 km from Ballylynan. Let us consider the possibilities in turn. First, the Rossadown Grahams may represent an unrecorded cadet or collateral branch descended from Fergus Graham, grandson of Fergus of Mote (Fig. 9.5), which later emerged from Sir Richard's extended family at Ballylynan.

Second, their ancestor may have been among the contingent of Grahams deported to Co. Roscommon in 1606, a man who subsequently found refuge on Sir Richard's estate at Ballylynan. In either of these cases, they would originally have been Anglo-Scottish Borderers but, by 1659, would have been counted among the Irish at Ballylynan, the epicentre of the Graham presence in Co. Laois. The third possibility is that they might genuinely be Irish, having their origin in a local family of tenant farmers at Ballylynan who (for reasons long forgotten) adopted the surname and religion of their landlord.

So what of my own Y-DNA identity, and – by extension – that of all of the Grahams of Rossadown? Would I prove to be R1b, J1, I1, or something else again? My STR test

(a)

DYS393	DYS390	DYS19	DYS391	DYS385	DYS426	DYS388	DYS439	DYS389I	DYS392	DYS389II	DYS458	DYS459	DYS455	DYS454
12	23	14	10	13-17	11	15	11	13	11	30	17	8-9	10	11
DYS447	DYS437	DYS448	DYS449	DYS464	DYS460	Y-GATA-H4	YCAII	DYS456	DYS607	DYS576	DYS570	CDY	DYS442	DYS438
25	14	20	25	12-14-16-17	11	10	22-22	15	14	18	18	34-36	12	10

Haplogroup assignment from STR profile: J1 (M267)

(b)

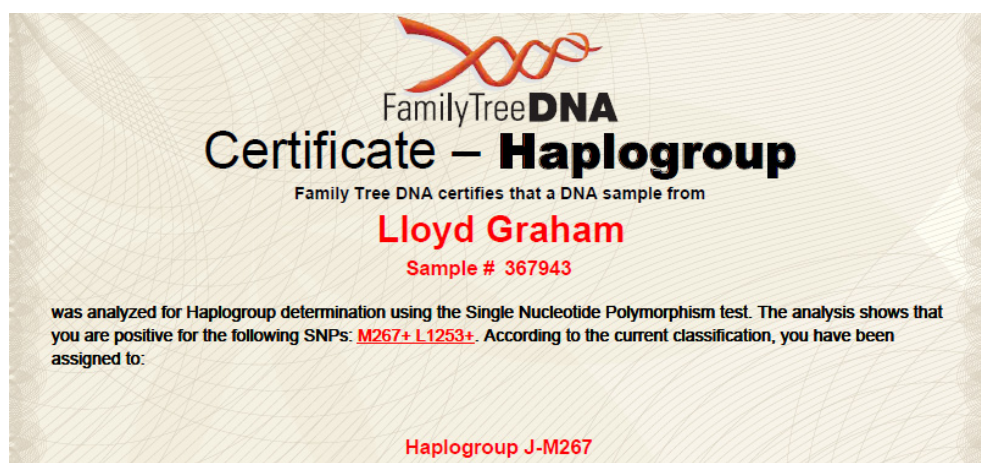


Fig. 9.8 (a) My 37-panel STR profile, or “genetic barcode.”⁸² Marker loci are listed in bold in the upper row of each strip, while the number of tandem repeats at each locus is shown in the lower row. On the basis of the STR profile, my Y-haplogroup was inferred securely to be J1, which is defined by the Single Nucleotide Polymorphism (SNP) called M267. **(b)** I then took a SNP test for M267 which, being positive, confirmed my assignment to J1 (M267) beyond doubt. This haplogroup, which is often abbreviated as J1 or J-M267, establishes my descent from the western Anglo-Scottish border. All J1 Grahams carry the distinctive signature DYS388=15 and YCAII=22-22; my conformity with this in panel (a) is highlighted by blue fill. From the STR profile, my subclade within J1 was putatively L1253, corresponding to DYS557>18. DTS557 was not actually one of the markers tested in my panel, so I took a follow-up SNP test for L1253; being positive, this test confirmed my assignment to subclade L1253, as certified in panel (b). This SNP, which appears to be limited to Britain and Ireland, is diagnostic for Border Grahams (see text).

results, and the Y-haplogroup predicted from them, revealed me to be a J1 Graham (Fig. 9.8a), an assignment confirmed by a follow-up SNP test which showed that I carry the L1253 SNP (Fig. 9.8b). This outcome eliminates the third possibility considered above (i.e., that of local Irish origins) for the Grahams of Rossadown; it is only consistent with the first two options, in which the family's origins lie in the western Anglo-Scottish Border. The genetic data do not help to decide between these two alternatives, but it is historically more probable that our ancestor was among the large number of Grahams deported to Co. Roscommon in 1606, and that this individual subsequently found refuge on Sir Richard's estate at Ballylynan.

STR profiling and my new-found relatives

Beyond assigning the person to a Y-haplogroup, an individual's Y-chromosome STR profile can be used to identify new relatives amongst other people who have undergone similar testing. Naturally, I used my STR profile (Fig. 9.8a) to search the database for genetic relatives. In this case, I was in for a surprise.

It turned out that many of my closest relatives in the Family Tree DNA database did not share my surname.⁸³ Of the nineteen independent closest matches to my profile, at Genetic Distance (GD) = 0 or 1, only nine actually bore the surname Graham. One of these could trace his ancestry back to Josias Graham (d. 1879) of Glenwherry, Co. Antrim, a focus of Western Border Graham re-settlement in Ireland following the collapse of the Roscommon venture; this, of course, fitted perfectly with my forebears' presumed origins in the Western Border. Similarly, a Graham at GD = 1 who was added later to the database (and whom I shall call KG) had traced his ancestry back to the early 1800s in Co. Fermanagh or Tyrone.⁸⁴ Both KG's family and mine were Church of Ireland, and we have an estimated 99.99% chance of a shared ancestor in the last 20 generations (i.e., since *ca.* 1500). A straightforward explanation of our shared heritage would go as follows: our common ancestor was a J1 Graham of the Anglo-Scottish Western Border in the 16th century; this man's descendants were among the Grahams of the Western Border deported to Co. Roscommon in 1606; following the collapse of the Roscommon settlement, KG's branch of the family headed north (as did most of the deportees) and settled in Co. Fermanagh/Tyrone, whereas mine moved south-east and settled in Co. Laois.

And then the database served up another surprise: of the ten remaining relatives – i.e., the non-Graham ones – no less than seven bore the surnames of other Border clans. Indeed, my collection of new-found relatives seemed designed to highlight the names of the most prominent riding clans, such as Johnson (one at GD = 0, another at GD = 1) and Armstrong (two at GD = 1).⁸⁵ Moreover, it focused upon clans that were co-localized with the Grahams, i.e., the inhabitants of the English and Scottish Western Marches.⁸⁶ In the Borders, Johnson would originally have been Johnstone/Johnston/Johnstoun with a “t”;⁸⁷ among the 29 relatives at GD = 2, with >96% probability of a shared ancestor within the last 16 generations, was a Johnston who had traced his line back to William Johnston (b. 1814) of Lockerbie, in the Scottish Western Borderland. At the same genetic distance (GD = 2) I even had a relative with the surname “Borders.” Present more

closely, at GD = 1, was an Irwin, whose paternal forebears were Irwins back at least to 1777; this surname is cognate with the Border surname Urwen/Irvine/Irving.⁸⁸ Present more closely again, at GD = 0, was a Turner, bearer of another clan surname from the Borders.⁸⁹

Importantly, none of the traditional Graham lands within Scotland – neither those at Montrose and Dundee, nor the Menteith lands north of Glasgow – have Johns(t)ons, Armstrongs, Turners or Irwins as neighbours; the eastern lands abut the territories of the Keiths, Carnegies, Lindsays, Lyons, Scrymgeours, and Hays, while the western ones are surrounded by Stuarts, MacGregors, MacFarlanes, Buchanans and Drummonds.⁹⁰ The region of Dalkeith, associated in the 12-13th century with the descendants of Peter de Graham (Fig. 1.1), is characterised by the surnames Douglas, Stewart, Ros, Oreston, Richardson, Kerr, Ramsay and Sinclair. Only at the Anglo-Scottish Western Border do we find the necessary nexus of surnames.

In peaceful parts of Britain, the presence of discordant surnames among Y-DNA matches is likely to reflect the adoption of different surnames by inter-related families who lived near each other at the time when surnames first came into use,⁹¹ i.e., after the Norman Conquest. In the case of the Western Border, one may reasonably suppose that later surname switches (resulting in lineages of Johns(t)ons, Armstrongs, etc., who are genetically Grahams) were also common due to the prevalence of infidelity/rape/illegitimacy events in the turbulence of Western Border life up to the early 1600s.⁹² In his detailed account of reiver life, George Fraser comments that the Graham men seem to have found the Armstrong girls particularly attractive,⁹³ and makes specific mention of a Graham-Irvine feud.⁹⁴ An additional driver was the need for fugitive Grahams to change their surname (which, after 1606, was required of almost all Grahams who chose to remain in or return to the Border region); at this time, Grahams were reported to be hiding amongst the Johnstones and other families of the Scottish West March,^{95,96} and some may have converted permanently to these new surnames. It is also possible that adoptions occurred between allied clans, and the Grahams were generally on reasonable terms with the Armstrongs and Johnstones.⁹⁷ The extent of intermarriage between these three riding clans was considerable,⁹⁸ and we know of at least one Graham married to a Johnston girl;⁹⁹ accordingly, yet another mechanism could be the acrimonious breakdown of such marriages,¹⁰⁰ followed by a return of the woman and her children to her family of origin and a resumption of their surname.

To recapitulate: the J1 haplogroup alone would have sufficed to pin my family's origins to the Anglo-Scottish Western Border (Chapter 8), but a further big clue to my antecedents' location in the middle of the last millennium survives in the form of relatives who are genetically Grahams but who bear other Border surnames. This is a legacy of the fact that their nominal forebears were co-located with my actual ones in that chaotic time and place. Thus, the existence of a plethora of surname-discordant relatives has proved helpful in confirming this crucial stage of my family's history.¹⁰¹

At the deeper and more populous level of GD = 4, which represents the most distant matching reported by the Graham Surname DNA Project at Family Tree DNA, there is

no trace of Johnsons, Armstrongs, Turners or Irwins among my non-Graham matches; at ySearch, only one such match (an Armstrong, GD = 4) was found at GD = 4, 5 or 6 (the maximum distance reported).¹⁰² Perhaps the earliest period covered by the genetic comparisons lacked the social upheavals necessary to cause the wholesale entanglement of surnames.

Genealogical conclusions

The largest genetic subgroup within the Graham Surname DNA Project, termed “Typical Grahams,” is defined by SNP L1253 and is associated with the reivers of the Anglo-Scottish Western Border (Chapter 8). My positive test result for this SNP is shown in Fig. 9.8b. When this SNP is found in a tester with the surname Johns(t)on, Brown, Jordan, Armstrong, or Irving/Irwin, it is a strong indicator that the individual is genetically a Graham and has “Border reiver” heritage.^{103,104} The preponderance of Western Border riding clan surnames amongst my closest genetic relatives places my more recent ancestors at the same location, and provides further proof – if such were needed – of the earlier assertion that the Graham J1 haplogroup is diagnostic of the Western Border region.

In the Border Reivers DNA Project Y-DNA Results table,¹⁰⁵ my STR profile is ranked near the middle of a 42-member subgroup titled “Graham and Johnson: Haplogroup J1 (J-M267+),” where it is flanked by a Graham and a Turner. In the Graham Surname DNA Project’s Y-DNA Results table, my profile is placed centrally within J1-L1253 Group 010, a 76-member group titled “Typical Grahams: ZS1542 status unknown.”¹⁰⁶

Although some Grahams of the Debatable Land were of Y-haplogroup R1b (e.g., later Grahams of Netherby and Canonbie; Chapter 8), it is Y-haplogroup J1 that dominates the surname’s representation at the Western Border. The frequent appearance of the latter genetic signature among the (nominal) descendants of other western riding clans is further evidence that the J1 Grahams were both numerous and closely enmeshed with their Border neighbours. This in turn provides support for the idea – advanced in Chapter 8 – that Lang Will was himself a J1.

As J1 Grahams, the recent origins of the Grahams of Rossadown lie in the western Anglo-Scottish Border, among the notorious reivers. It is likely that our ancestor was among the contingent of Grahams deported to Co. Roscommon in 1606 and that he subsequently found refuge on Sir Richard’s estate at Ballylynan, a mere 35 km from Rossadown. His deep ancestry – like that of the other J1 Grahams of the Western Border – is Semitic, and most likely lies within an Arab population of the Middle East (Chapter 8).



Religious zeal

Over the centuries, House Graham has produced many religious individuals. High-ranking clergy include Patrick Graham, a 15th-century Archbishop of St. Andrews (Fig. 1.13)¹ and George Graeme/Graham, a 17th-century Bishop of Orkney.² Also in the 17th century we find Dean William Graham – a son of Sir George of Netherby, 2nd Baronet of Esk (Fig. 8.3) – as Prebend of Durham Cathedral and later as Chaplain to Queen Anne,³ while in the 18th century we might mention the Belfast-born Rev. John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut, an account of whose American descendants fills a weighty tome published in 1942.⁴

The focus of this chapter, however, is not upon such worthies but rather upon the more exotic and extreme stories from the world of faith, whether these involve monks, martyrdom, missionaries or mischief. A selection of just five individuals has been made that – despite its brevity – runs the gamut of Grahams in their eclectic engagement with God.

Two brothers: A Capuchin and a Trappist monk

Patrick Graeme (b. 1669, d. after 1747), a grandson of Black Pate of Inchbrakie (Chapter 7 & Fig. 1.16b), had been an officer in the army of James II but had managed to kill one of his friends in a duel. To atone for this sin, he became a monk in the Mendicant Order of the Capuchins at Boulogne in France.⁵ The Capuchin friars are a Franciscan order that was founded in the 16th century in Italy. They have long been renowned for their missionary work among the poor, as well as their dedication to extreme austerity, poverty, and simplicity.⁶ They wear a simple brown robe which includes a long, pointed hood that hangs down the back. As the colour of an espresso coffee mixed with frothed milk is similar to the colour of this distinctive hood, the coffee drink acquired the same name as the Italian term for a Capuchin monk – a *cappuccino*.⁷

As a Capuchin monk, Patrick Graeme was known initially as Frère Archange (“Brother Archangel”) and later as Père Archange (“Father Archangel”). Louisa Graeme records his life thus: “This monastic lived for a long course of years at Boulogne; he conformed to all the austerities of his order with the most rigorous exactness, arose to eminence in the institution, and he died at a very advanced age, the Superior of the Convent.”⁸ Père Archange attributes (in part) his health and longevity not to coffee but to “good burgundy and claret,” for which he thanks God, so perhaps the life of a French Capuchin of the 18th century was not entirely devoted to austerity and privation. Dr. Tobias Smollett, a British travel writer of the time, records that Père Archange was “a well-bred, sensible man, of a very exemplary life and conversation, and his memory is much revered in this place [i.e., Boulogne].”⁹

Père Archange was interested in his family's genealogy and heraldry. He prepared on parchment an illuminated family tree that details the 32 armorial bearings arising from the family's branches, whose paternal root he apparently traced back to the Gryme who breached the Antonine wall (Chapter 2, CAMP 2).¹⁰ Smollet mentions that Père Archange also had some coats of arms included in a stained glass window, and that the British coat of arms were represented in his church as a mark of gratitude for benefactions received from his homeland.¹¹

Robert Graeme (b. *ca.* 1679), the younger brother of Patrick Graeme/Père Archange, also opted for a religious life – this time in penance for a youth of “debauchery and impurity; he accustomed himself to blaspheme, surpassing his friends in this detestable habit; impiety soon gave place to Atheism, and his insolence and pride made him looked on as a refractory young fellow, not to be suffered in society.”¹² However, some residue of his religious instruction as a child – he had been raised as a Protestant by his parents but had also received Catholic instruction by Lord Perth¹³ – motivated Robert to go to France, where he underwent confirmation as a Catholic by the Bishop of Bruges.¹⁴ His new-found religiosity being as extreme as his former licentiousness, he attempted to join an austere order of monks in Flanders. But he soon lapsed and repaired from the privations of the monastery to the luxuries of the town, where he resumed the wantonness of his previous life.¹⁵

For a second time Robert renounced his errant ways and spent ten months studying at the seminary of Meaux.¹⁶ On a visit to the town he had a religious experience in the presence of a crucifix, as a result of which he decided to travel to Italy in order to become a hermit.¹⁷ A friend of his among the monks suggested instead that they both join the Order of La Trappe, whose monastery – the Abbey of Soligny-la-Trappe, at Orne in France – was five days hard walk from Meaux.¹⁸ The Trappists are famed even today as a harsh religious order that requires vows of silence from its members, although in reality only unnecessary speech is prohibited.¹⁹

Robert agreed to his friend's proposal, and in short order the two presented themselves at the Abbey and subjected themselves “to the rules of the strictest order in the Roman Catholic Church.”²⁰ Robert's friend soon quit, “completely prostrated by the severity of its rules,” but Robert endured. After some months of privation and austerity, “Robert became an altered being, showing sweetness and docility of temper instead of arrogance and pride, and [...] he received the garb of this ancient Order (Ville de la tous saints) in 1699, with the name of Frère Alexis.”²¹ Indeed, he “became so humble a penitent ‘that the late King of England [James II] [...] honoured Robert by speaking to him during his last visit to La Trappe.’”²² The Order at that time was still led by its founder, Abbé Bouthillier de Rancé (Fig. 10.1), who received Robert's vows and also hosted the royal visit.



Fig. 10.1 Portrait of Abbé Bouthillier de Rancé by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743).²³

Now as extreme in penitence as he had once been in profligacy, Robert employed “means for repentance [...] which were so exaggerated as to induce his Superiors to try and abate them,” a task in which they were unsuccessful.²⁴ He prayed, fasted and undertook manual labour with a masochistic zeal that quickly broke his health and led to “a lingering and painful deathbed.”²⁵ And so “Robert Graeme, Frère Alexis of La Trappe, ended his troubled young life on the 21st May 1701, just seven months and nine days after his ‘profession’ [of vows], aged twenty-two years.”²⁶ Affected by their son’s zeal and death, which must have seemed akin to martyrdom, both of his parents converted to Catholicism.²⁷ His brother, Père Archange, honoured his brother’s memory by writing his biography, which was published in Paris in 1703.²⁸

The Jordan and the Rhine

Another Graham whose religious dedication is beyond question is Rev. William Graham (1810-1883), a Northern Irish Presbyterian minister.²⁹ His premillennialist views – i.e., his belief that Jesus would physically return to earth and that this Second Coming would usher in a thousand-year golden age of peace, saw his 1870 book *On Spiritualising*

Scripture – The Confessions of a Millenarian revisited recently as the subject of a highly specialised academic paper,³⁰ but otherwise William is little remembered.

William penned a now-forgotten monograph titled *The Jordan and the Rhine* (Fig. 10.2).³¹ This book, which was published in 1854, draws upon William's residence of five years in Syria and five years in Germany. His brief in the Middle East was, in modern terms, audacious: to convert the Jews of Damascus to Christianity,³² with Muslim converts considered a bonus. William was truly a product of his time, for his faith knows no doubts and his condescension no bounds. His touchstones surface quickly. Amongst a variety of themes promised in the book's preface, he is proud to include "the obstinacy and the inveterate infidelity of the Jews, as well as God's purposes in them – the great apostacy, which is the Papacy, and the man of sin which is its head, as well as the coming of the Lord to destroy them."³³ Without pausing for breath, he also promises to address "the state of Popery and Protestantism in Germany – the German theories of reasoning, rationalism, and inspiration – their philosophies, their poetry, and their history, as well as the peculiarities of their social and domestic life," all the better to illustrate "the prodigious labours, and the still more prodigious imagination of that plodding philosophical race."³⁴

Despite the conditioning of his time, William had some valid insights. For one, he recognised the extent of anti-Semitic bias in European populations. "We are in the habit of contemplating the Jews mostly as the bankers, jewellers, and money-changers of the earth, who, like a ubiquitous swarm of leeches, suck the life out of the nations, and to whom we are under no obligations, save those of mortgages and bills of exchange."³⁵ Moreover, he admitted that this insidious state was no recent development in the Western attitude to Jewish people, for – in his words – "We had plundered and persecuted them, hated, despised, and insulted them during eighteen centuries!"³⁶

In the course of his book, William observes that "France and England are now united" and goes on to speculate "that political combinations may make [...] England the patron of democracy [...] throughout the world. If the war becomes general, and the Continental courts league themselves against us, the conflagration will encompass the world, and it is impossible to anticipate what the end may be."³⁷ William's predictions have a familiar ring; they seem all the more uncanny when we remember that he is talking about the Russian-Turkish conflict known as the Crimean War (1853-1856),³⁸ and that his book about Jews and Germans predates the Second World War by almost a hundred years. Perhaps William's self-description as "an ardent student of prophecy"³⁹ was better deserved than anyone realised at the time.

Another insight that would not have been possible in William's time is the realisation that, as a Northern Irish Graham of Protestant stock, he was most likely of Y-haplogroup J1-M267. From Chapter 8, we know that this Semitic haplogroup was most probably

THE
JORDAN AND THE RHINE ;
OR,
The East and the West.
BEING THE RESULT OF
FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE IN SYRIA,
AND
FIVE YEARS' RESIDENCE IN GERMANY.

BY THE
REV. WILLIAM GRAHAM,
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ARABIC
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF SYRIA; MEMBER OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY OF THE RHINE, ETC.

Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς χθὲς καὶ σήμερον ὁ αὐτὸς, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.

“ER ALLEIN! ER ÜBERALL! ER IMMER!”

LONDON:
PARTRIDGE, OAKEY, AND CO., 34, PATERNOSTER ROW;
AND 70, EDGWARE ROAD.

1854.

Fig. 10.2 Title page of Rev. William Graham's *The Jordan and the Rhine*.⁴⁰

introduced to the British Isles by garrisons of Syrian slingers and archers who were stationed at the northern frontier of the Roman Empire. Accordingly, perhaps William's sojourn as a missionary in Syria should be seen not just as a condescending act of colonial hubris – which it undoubtedly was – but also as a homecoming, a return to the land of his ancestors.

William's life overlapped with that of the Scottish novelist Kenneth Grahame, but there the similarity ends. The latter is celebrated as the author of the children's classic *The Wind in the Willows*, whereas almost all of William's writings have been consigned to oblivion.

Billy Graham

At the other extreme of popular appreciation is a different William Graham – “America's Pastor,” William Franklin Graham Jr. (1918-2018), better known as Billy Graham.⁴¹ Born of Scots-Irish ancestry in North Carolina, Billy became a Southern Baptist minister and went on to international fame as a television evangelist, crusader for Christ, and spiritual adviser to twelve consecutive Presidents of the United States (Fig. 10.3). He was a hugely influential preacher; one of Billy's television addresses – broadcast in 1996 to 200 nations in 50 languages – is thought to have reached 1.5 billion people on that one day, with a final estimated audience of 2.5 billion.⁴² Indeed, the so-called “Protestant Pope” is believed to have preached the gospel to more people than anyone in the history of Christianity.⁴³

Although politically conservative on topics such as women's rights, abortion, homosexuality and same-sex marriage, Billy was a registered Democrat and largely avoided identification with the far right.⁴⁴ In some respects he was remarkably progressive: from early in his career he was opposed to racial segregation and discrimination.⁴⁵ In 1997, he even adopted an inclusivist stance that extended God's grace and salvation to members of non-Christian religions and to non-believers, seeing among them spiritual persons who “have been called by God [... and who] turn to the only light they have.”⁴⁶ In 2002, however, he was heard expressing anti-Jewish views on Nixon-era audio recordings – statements of which he claimed no memory, and for which he unconditionally apologised.⁴⁷

It is perhaps fitting that one of the world's best-known Grahams should have been born, domiciled and laid to rest in North Carolina, a state with a long and distinguished history of Grahams.⁴⁸ Graham County in North Carolina is named for William A. Graham, a Senator (1840-1843) who later became the state's Governor (1845-1849).⁴⁹ The city of Graham in Alamance County, North Carolina, honours the same individual.⁵⁰ But, in 2013, it was not William Graham the politician but Billy Graham the evangelist that the North Carolina General Assembly named as “North Carolina's Favorite Son.”⁵¹



Fig. 10.3 Billy Graham in 1966; photo credit Warren K. Leffler.⁵²

Lloyd M. Graham

The unshakable Christian faith embodied by Rev. William Graham and, a century later, by his namesake Billy Graham finds its antithesis in the scathing anti-Biblical rhetoric of

Lloyd M. Graham, author of the 1975 book *Deceptions and Myths of the Bible*. As the front cover of a reprinting of the book (Citadel, 2000) trumpets, “Lloyd M. Graham writes that the Bible is not ‘the word of God’ but a steal from pagan sources.”⁵³ The rear dust-cover of the 1979 Bell hardcover edition asks: “How then can the Bible be a revelation? The masses never read the sources of these myths, and the churchmen who did keep silent about them. [...] Mr. Graham believes it is time this scriptural tyranny was broken, so that we may devote our time to man instead of God and to civilizing ourselves instead of saving our souls that were never lost.”⁵⁴

While some of what the book presents is consistent with mainstream scholarship – some Old Testament motifs, such as the Great Flood, do indeed have more ancient predecessors in the literature of the Ancient Near East – the book’s caustic and inflammatory tone is intended to antagonise. Moreover, sources and evidentiary support are noticeably lacking for its more provocative assertions, some of which are scientifically laughable. The following extract from a review of *Deceptions* (written by a Christian apologist, but nevertheless fair and accurate) convey the author’s overall intentions rather well:⁵⁵

Graham starts his book with a thesis which would make even my ideological foes at infidels.org turn pale, namely, that all planets were once suns, and that our sun will someday burn out and become a planet [25]. And further, that the Bible is just a collection of allegorical retellings of this thesis. Adam, Noah, the paschal lamb, Pharaoh-Necho, Jonah’s gourd, Elisha’s bald head, Jesus’ tomb, Abraham’s father Terah...all of these are actually symbolic of the Earth. The latter is “proven” by noting that “Terah” sounds like the Latin *terra*, which means “earth” [111]. The burning bush in Exodus is “the earth in its postsolar convulsions.” [174] [...] All of this Ancient Wisdom, we are told, has been edited out of the Bible by “power-seeking priests” [6] who couldn’t bear the truth. We’re also told that the earth is older than the sun, and that the moon once had life [25]... yes, all of this is found in the “Ancient Wisdom”. [...] The current state of affairs, according to Graham, is entirely the fault of a conspiratorial cover-up by the priestly power structure, aided and abetted today by the legions of “Christendumb” (his own word).

A separate inflammatory theme not mentioned in the review is Lloyd’s patent anti-Semitism, which extends to contemporary politics. He dismisses the Jewish claim to Palestine as false on the basis that the Jews “never conquered it, they never owned it.”⁵⁶ In the scripturally-inspired creation of the modern state of Israel he saw nothing more than “The theft of a country, a million Arabs driven out to starve,” continuing: “that is what belief in literal mythology can do. Instead of ‘the word of God’ it should be called the work of the devil. Its cunning is so diabolical it has deceived the entire world for two thousand years. [...] It’s time we rid ourselves of this troublemaker.”⁵⁷ And a threat: “Those believers in scriptural prophecy should consider *The Lehnin Prophecy*: ‘Israel will do a deed unspeakable, that only death can redeem.’ The deed has been done, the redeeming has yet to come.”⁵⁸ It is unnerving to see his stridently humanist argument arrive at such a close rapprochement with one of the aims of the Third Reich.

Despite being laced with flawed scholarship the book is relatively easy to read; the author’s meaning is usually only too clear, and his eccentric polemic is at least thought-

provoking. At times he even waxes lyrical. My personal favourite is the following passage:⁵⁹

Like every other child, a “brain child” is conceived in pleasure but delivered in pain. When nature finds someone with something to give the world she proceeds to torture it out of him, and no kind, merciful God makes straight the way. On the contrary, he is beset by every impediment, that the essential pain and suffering be assured. “All cosmic knowledge comes of wisdom stored / In minds made luminous by suffering” [Edward Davis, *Lovers of Life*].

I suspect that few authors would disagree with him on that point.

Lloyd M. Graham is assumed to have been born *ca.* 1935,⁶⁰ but the identity of this individual is – to appropriate Winston Churchill’s phrase – “a riddle, wrapped in a mystery, inside an enigma.”⁶¹ As one reviewer of *Deceptions* opines, “The author is styled ‘Lloyd M. Graham’, and we aren’t told a thing about him; [...] To this day, no one knows who Graham is, but his writing style and his ideas sound suspiciously like Alvin Boyd Kuhn.”⁶² The Google Books page for a Skyhorse reprinting of *Deceptions* in 2012 has a section headed “About the author” which reads “Lloyd M. Graham is a pseudonym. Because of the controversial nature of his writings, he does not want his identity or his hometown revealed. He is a Biblical scholar and a student of mythology.” If the name is a pseudonym then the author took his privacy very seriously, for the Library of Congress copyright entry for the book shows this name and no other.⁶³

There is a discussion of Lloyd M. Graham on the Google alt.atheism online group. An unusual post, dated 12 Dec, 2018, comes from a man named Kevin who claims to be this individual’s driver and occasional gardener; according to this source, Lloyd – who in daily life goes by the name “Rocky” – is “getting old and sometimes sickly but trust me he gets stubborn at times bad attitude but he is smart as hell and i mean smart.”⁶⁴ There is no mention of a location. At first, I thought it was possible that the person Kevin had in mind was Dr. Lloyd Graham of Grants Pass, Oregon,⁶⁵ a chiropractor who in 1964 self-published a book titled *Bio-Magnetic Healing*.⁶⁶ Like the author of *Deceptions*, this investigator had a cosmic mindset – “The human body is a wonderful and orderly arrangement of electromagnetic light wave vibrational patterns in gravitational and radiational motion”⁶⁷ – and held beliefs that were at odds with mainstream science.⁶⁸ But other data preclude this being the person known to Kevin, because the author of *Bio-Magnetic Healing* was apparently Lloyd G. Graham, a man whose life spanned the years 1918-2010.⁶⁹ Accordingly, this individual had been dead for ten years at the time when Kevin posted his comments. It remains possible that our Lloyd M. Graham is connected to this family in some other way, perhaps as a son of Lloyd G. Graham.

There is some evidence to suggest that the real name of our person of interest may be Lloyd Mahon Graham. A 916-page book titled *Quartum Organum – A Genetic Cosmo-Conception*, which was published in 1949 by “Krypton,” seems to have significant overlap with *Deceptions*.⁷⁰ A secondhand bookseller – Weiser Antiquarian Books, of Maine – summarises it as:⁷¹

A very strange book [...] In the Introduction the author writes of the ‘two spiritually wasted millennia’ of the Piscean Age, and looks forward to the approaching new cycle, the Aquarian Age, ‘an age of enlightenment and right values, of faith in things with known substantives instead of unproven creeds.’[...] The text itself is an abstruse occult / philosophical / quasi-scientific survey of life, evolution (spiritual and biological), the universe, and all of which it is composed. More than with most works it would not be possible to give a proper overview of the book without reading it.

Importantly, this copy contains a handwritten dedication on the rear paste-down: “Gift in memory of the years of powerful discussions on psychic and occult subjects from Lloyd and Charles to Flora & Ebbe Borg 4.II.1949.” Pencil additions to this inscription identify the surname of the first man as Graham and the second one as Richardson.⁷² Weiser Books further identifies the first man as Lloyd Mahon Graham, the book’s actual author, and the second one as Charles Richardson, its illustrator. No source is cited for the middle name of “Mahon,” but it is corroborated by other bibliographic entries for *Quantum Organum*, including one by the National Trust of Britain⁷³ and another in the Library of Congress copyright register.⁷⁴ The National Trust entry gives Lloyd’s birth-date as 1889. It is important to note that neither Weiser Books nor the National Trust actually connects this author directly with *Deceptions*, but the first chapter of the latter book is titled “Premise: A Genetic Cosmo-Conception,”⁷⁵ and thus uses the same idiosyncratic phrase as the subtitle of *Quantum Organum*. Of course, if Lloyd Mahon Graham did write *Deceptions* then he would have been 86 at the time of its publication, and in 2018 – at the age of 129 – he could not possibly just have been “getting old and sometimes sickly.” Nor could he be the son of Lloyd G. Graham of Grants Pass, Oregon, although he could have been his father.

One option that reconciles most of the conflicting data is the possibility that the author of *Deceptions* – who may have been called Rocky, born *ca.* 1935 and thus 83 years old in 2018 – had read and been strongly influenced by *Quantum Organum*. Not wishing to use his real name for his controversial book, he chose to adopt the name of the real person behind “Krypton” as his own *nom de plume* and summarised key aspects of *Quantum Organum* to explain to his own readers the theoretical framework underpinning his convictions.⁷⁶ If this is correct, then his choice of Lloyd Graham as a pseudonym has impacted me personally, since it happens to be my real name (Fig. 10.4). As my academic papers span the unlikely spectrum of biochemistry, genetic engineering, mythology, religion, esoterica, magic, Egyptology and Ancient Near Eastern studies,⁷⁷ it seems that I will forever run the risk of being confused with the decidedly batty author of *Deceptions*.

If you’ve ever wondered why I always include my middle initial on my publications, including this one – now you know.

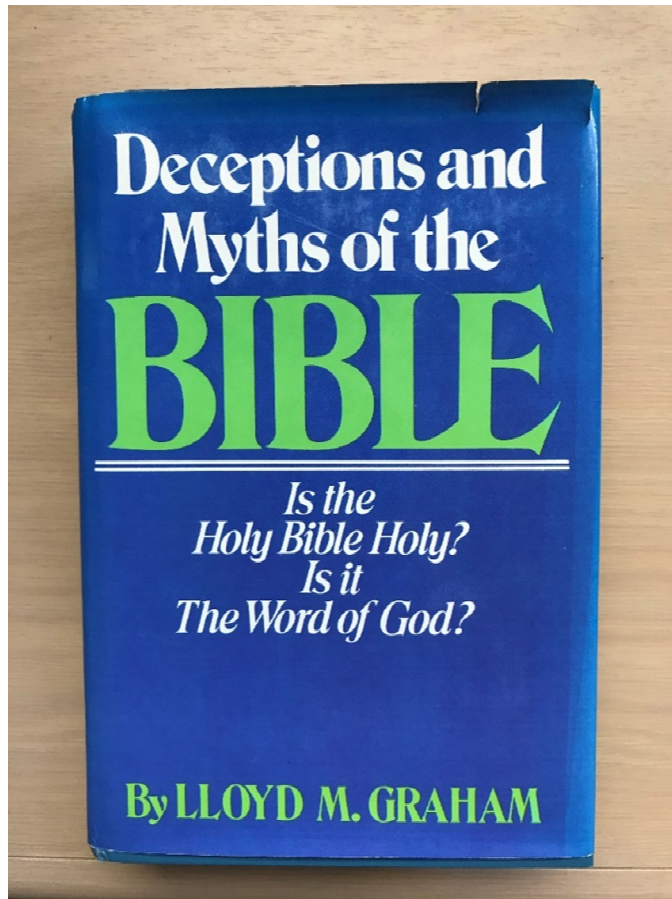


Fig. 10.4 Lloyd D. Graham's copy of Lloyd M. Graham's book.



The Graham Manuscript

The Graham Manuscript can be considered one of the manuscript constitutions of Freemasonry, representing either one of the last texts of operative Masonry or one of the first texts of speculative Masonry.¹ Dated 1726, and discovered in Britain in 1936, it is a transcription by one Right Worshipful Brother Thomas Graham (Fig. 10.1) of an earlier document that is now lost.² The author signs the transcript “Tho Graham chanceing Master of Lodges outhen Enquam Ebo;” the last three words may be an anagram,³ or the last two a corruption of “inquam ego.”⁴ The original document’s composition may in fact lie in Ireland.⁵

The Graham Manuscript – self-titled *The Whole Institutions of Free Masonry Opened* – takes the form of a catechism, or question-and-answer session.⁶ The document is remarkable for the fact that its version of the most distinctive legend of Freemasonry (i.e., the legend of the Third Degree) involves the search for and raising of the body of Noah.⁷ In the canonical version, the body is that of Hiram Abiff,⁸ the architect and principal builder of Solomon’s Temple, who is traditionally viewed as the paradigmatic Master Mason. In biblical chronology, Noah predates Solomon by some 24 generations. This peculiarity of the Graham Manuscript is consistent with an account published in 1738, in which the origins of Freemasonry are once again ascribed to Noah, albeit this time without any details.⁹ It seems likely that the original legend of the Third Degree focused on Noah but that he was soon displaced by Hiram Abiff, perhaps because there was a need for the central personage to be a stoneworker rather than a shipwright, as well as a desire for a more dramatic storyline containing betrayal, martyrdom, and so on.¹⁰ The Noahchite version may have lived on in a degree called “Ark Mason,” recorded in 1838 in an Irish Lodge, which “was symbolised on old floor cloths as Noah’s Ark.”¹¹

The Graham Manuscript also provides a pseudo-etymology for the Mason Word, a secret Masonic password known more properly as “the Master Mason’s substitute word.”¹² This important ritual word¹³ is first recorded in Sloane Ms. 3329 (*ca.* 1700) and – no doubt on phonetic grounds – was being interpreted a quarter of a century later to mean “marrow in the bone.”¹⁴ The Graham Manuscript weaves this last phrase into the story of Noah’s body being discovered and raised by his sons,¹⁵ thus providing a belated origin myth for the secret word as it was understood in or before 1726. Another interpretation of the password, namely “the flesh falls from the bones,”¹⁶ may be a reflex of the first one, for – unlike the marrow trapped within the bones¹⁷ – the flesh is visibly lost after death.

In the mainstream Hiramic workings, additional interpretations of the Word that were more obviously related to the demise of Solomon’s builder would follow;¹⁸ conversely,

your mells
 To Graham
 October 24 1726

Fig. 11.1 Signature of Thomas Graham, 1726.

its imperfect oral transmission would lead from an already “much mangled 17th century word”¹⁹ to ever more distant variants. None are more fanciful than the *Ma’at-neb-men-aa*, *Ma’at-ba-aa* reported by Christopher Knight and Robert Lomas in *The Hiram Key*,²⁰ which these authors claim are Egyptian statements that proclaim “Great is the established Master of Freemasonry, Great is the spirit of Freemasonry.” The authors go so far as to render the statements hieroglyphically, as follows:



These Egyptian sentences do largely have the phonetic values claimed for them; their actual transliterations would be *m3^c.t nb(.t) mn 3*, *m3^c.t b3 3*. However, their meanings are not at all what Knight and Lomas pretend. Several translations are possible; the closest to the claimed meanings would be “Truth/justice is the lord/(lady)/possessor of the great one who endures”²¹ and “Truth/justice is the great soul/spirit.”²² The Egyptian term *ma’at* means truth, justice, balance, proper order, etc. – attributes of cosmic harmony embodied by the goddess Ma’at.²³ To translate *ma’at* as Freemasonry is, of course, preposterous.²⁴

The actual origin of the Mason Word is likely to be a standard greeting/welcome in Arabic.²⁵ This would not be without precedent, as other Arabic words are known to occur in Masonic terminology.²⁶ Interestingly, the invention of the “secret word” – most likely the Mason Word under discussion here – is attributed in a 1726 document (an exact contemporary of the Graham Manuscript) to one “Checchehabeddin Jatmouny.”²⁷ The first of these two names must be a contraction of “Sheihk Chehabeddin,”²⁸ whose second component is no doubt derived from the Arabic honorific “Shihab al-Din” (“Star of the Faith”). At face value, the second of the two Masonic names is that of a prophet who appears in the story of Turan-Dokht (Turandot) in the Persian *Thousand and One Days*;²⁹ this individual, who is known to the Chinese as Berginghuzin, may be Confucius.³⁰ However, it is more likely that Jatmouny is a phonetic mis-writing of an Arabic place-name with a *nisbe* ending. For instance, Mohamad Yatim suggests that Sheihk Chehabeddin Jatmouny may be a Yemeni Sufi, presumably taking “Jatmouny” to be a corruption of “Yemeni.”³¹ Perhaps the key point is that Chehabeddine functions as an Arabic surname. It is probably of Saudi Arabian origin but is, for example, very well

represented in modern Lebanon.³² A Levantine origin for the Mason Word fits well with the order's focus on the Solomonic temple in Jerusalem; it could even be pitched as a Templar inheritance, a word that travelled to Europe with returning Crusaders.³³

The Mason Word, as discussed here, is a substitute for the original Word, which was lost in a manner commemorated in the Third Degree of Craft lodges.³⁴ This loss parallels – and may have been inspired by – the forgetting by the Israelite priesthood of the correct way to pronounce the Tetragrammaton, i.e., the Hebrew name of God.³⁵ The focus of Royal Arch Masonry is the rediscovery of the original True Word.³⁶ Temporally, this event is situated either during the refurbishment of the Solomonic Temple under King Josiah (as done in the Irish rite, which is thought to be the oldest, and which no doubt takes its lead from the discovery reported in 2 Kings 22:8 and 2 Chron. 34:14)³⁷ or at the building of the Second Temple in the time of Cyrus the Great (as done in jurisdictions other than Ireland).³⁸ Accordingly, the apex-up triangle within the Royal Arch jewel bears an inscription announcing the great discovery in three different languages – Greek (EYPHKAMEN),³⁹ Latin (INVENIMUS) and English (WE HAVE FOUND), while the encompassing circle bears the Latin motto *Si talia jungere possis sit tibi scire satis*, “If thou comprehendest these things thou knowest enough” (Fig. 11.2a). The concept of the Lost Word and its rediscovery forms a key component of Dan Brown's Masonic thriller, *The Lost Symbol*,⁴⁰ which in 2009 became the fastest selling novel in history.⁴¹

In 2017-18, a paper on the Graham Manuscript was presented to Quatuor Coronati (London; Lodge No. 2076), “the premier Lodge of Masonic research,”⁴² by Bro. E. John T. Acaster. This recent reappraisal was at pains to stress the manuscript's significance. Acaster opened his paper by declaring that “an attempt will here be made to bring out and explain why the Graham MS is of the first importance in Masonic study,” citing *inter alia* that “It is early, probably much before its ostensible date of October 1726,” “It is not unique, as much of the content is backed up by at least three separate sources,” and “It opens the way to approach older and more subtle appreciations of Masonic ritual and meaning.”⁴³

After a detailed consideration of the manuscript's contents, Acaster concludes that:⁴⁴

The Graham MS is worthy of deep study in its own right, arguably to a greater extent than any other Masonic document. It has more facets: we can plumb the past with much new and exciting insight; our present, with its signs and rituals, is revealed as never before.

The paper ends with an Appendix that documents the reception of the Graham Manuscript since its discovery in 1936, a historiographical exercise that reveals how influential the document has been within Masonic scholarship. Its current significance may be gleaned by reading Acaster's (translated) quotation from Irène Mainguy's 2016 paper, “Le Manuscrit Graham,”⁴⁵ which states: “Because of all the various themes brought out, this manuscript can be considered as the ancestor of a multitude of speculative Masonic rituals,⁴⁶ for it contains in embryo many of the elements which would be worked up afterwards.”⁴⁷ From such testimonials, it is clear that the Graham Manuscript is a seminal document of Masonic tradition.



Fig. 11.2. (a) The Past King jewel (in 9 ct. gold) belonging to my grandfather, Richard Henry Graham (1898-1978), who served as Excellent King of Royal Arch Chapter No. 49 (The Muskerry) in Dublin in 1960.⁴⁸ He had been Master of Craft Lodge No. 78 (Nassau) in 1940, as attested by (b) his Past Master jewel (in Sterling silver). My father, Sydney Graham (1926-2015), was Master of Craft Lodge No. 728 (The Military Lodge)⁴⁹ in Dublin in 2003. As a full member of Lodge 200, the Lodge of Research, Ireland⁵⁰ – a status attested by (c) the crossed quills atop the ribbon of his membership medal⁵¹ – and as a long-time member of the Grand Lodge of Instruction,⁵² he was probably aware of the Graham Manuscript.



A serving of scallops

We have already seen the scallops from the Graham coat of arms (Fig. 1.8) feature in the theory that William de Grame was a de Tancarville whose descendants share with those of his brother – the Chamberlains of Lincoln – arms charged with three escallops Or (Chapter 2, Group 3A; Fig. 2.4). The scallops also took centre stage in the competing hypothesis that William de Grame was a son of Ernulf de Hesdin, and thus came to Britain bearing the three golden escallops of Hesdin (Chapter 2, Group 3B), which also gave rise to the arms of Malet (Fig. 2.7). However, in the light of current evidence (Chapter 2), neither of these schemes provides a credible explanation for the shells on the Graham shield.

The fact that the scallops quickly became entrenched in Graham heraldry, and endure therein to the present day, strongly suggests they carry some meaning. J.H. Stevenson comments as follows:¹

The original adoption of a lion or a lily as the device of a seal was apparently meant not so much to distinguish the bearer as to announce his sentiment. Too many of the early seals bear, e.g., lions to leave room for any theory that they were taken for mere distinctiveness. It is also impossible to suppose that in a time when the spirit of allegory and symbolism dominated men's minds, people made one exception and adopted their most personal badges for distinctiveness alone – that, for example, Sir Henry de Graham, already mentioned, took for his mark a scallop shell [...] merely because a scallop shell was neither a lily nor a lion, but was among the heap of objects still unappropriated – which it scarcely was – by the adoption of any one of which he might show that he was neither de Montgomerie nor de Morville...

It follows that the choice of scallop shells was clearly not random, but rather the deliberate selecting of an emblem of importance to the early Grahams. The significance of the shells and their probable meaning to those who first bore them is the subject of this chapter. Like the Graham motto (Chapter 1), the golden scallop has – in recent times – managed to migrate into the world of business; its somewhat clandestine afterlife in the commercial arena will be also be considered in this chapter.

Camino de Santiago – The Way of St. James

The scallop shell is the ancient emblem of St. James, seemingly assigned to him by the Spaniards who revered him as their patron saint and protector.² At the mythical Battle of Clavijo (supposedly in 844 CE), it is said that St. James appeared, sword in hand, with the trappers of his war-horse powdered with scallops;³ his actions on the battlefield gave victory to an outnumbered Christian army who had otherwise faced certain defeat, and in this way he began the *Reconquista*.⁴ In due course, Spain was reclaimed for Christendom from the Moors, the Arab and Berber Muslims who had conquered most of the Iberian

peninsula for the Umayyad Caliphate by 720 CE.⁵ The Spanish knightly order of St. James, founded in memory of that battle, had as its badge a red sword with a silver scallop upon the hilt.⁶

To explain the religious significance of the scallop shell and its relevance to the Grahams, we can do no better than to resort once more to J.H. Stevenson:⁷

It is related that some time after our Lord's Ascension, James the son of Zebedee, the fisherman [Matt. 4:21-22; Mark 1:19-20,] set out for Spain, where he became the first preacher to the dispersed of Israel. Afterwards, when again in Jerusalem, he was put to death by Herod Agrippa, but his body was recovered by his disciples of Spain, and translated to Compostella, the scene of his labours. Tradition there ends and history begins, for it is undoubted that in the ninth or tenth century Compostella gained the highest celebrity on account of the miracles believed to have been performed at the shrine of the apostle's bones. It was the earliest place of pilgrimage in Spain, and thither flocked "hundreds of thousands from all parts of Europe."

The scallop or clam shell is the traditional badge of St. James. In allusion to his missionary travels he is represented by medieval artists as a pilgrim with a staff, scrip, and shell; and a cockle or clam shell is in his hand, or on his hat, cloak or wallet. Sometimes, as in the Cathedral of Chartres, he is represented without clothes, and covered instead with cockle shells only. A recent writer repeats a suggestion that the origin of the pilgrim's scallop was the utility of the shell as a drinking vessel. But this speculation does not account for the general adoption of that sea product as a badge by the overland pilgrims to Compostella, and for the amount of its neglect by those who crossed the sea-shores on the way to the Holy Sepulchre. The shell, like the palm which gave to the pilgrim returning from the Holy Land, where they grow, the name of palmer, was the evidence as well as the symbol to the worshipper that he had achieved his errand. The shell, it is true, may have been mistaken for the badge of an apostolic fisherman in the estimation of people who did not know that the Sea of Galilee was an inland lake, but no badge could have been adopted by his pilgrim imitators which was not to be found in quantities at some place not far from his shrine. So general did the use of the clam shell as a badge become that Pope Alexander IV (1254-1261) forbade it to be displayed by any but pilgrims of noble blood.

We may therefore surmise that Henry de Graham had been in his time a pilgrim to Santiago.

By Henry de Graham, Stevenson means the second Sir Henry of Dalkeith (attested 1203/1233; Fig. 1.1), with whom he associates a scallop-shell seal that he dates *ca.* 1230. In agreement with Stevenson, we noted earlier that the scallop shell design began as a seal emblem in the elder branch of the family (Chapter 1), but more conservatively associated it with the third Sir Henry of Dalkeith (attested 1248-1284), son of the one nominated by Stevenson (Fig. 1.1). All sources concur that the charge appeared in triplicate on the seal of Sir Nicholas (attested 1289-1295), son of the third Henry. This proliferation caused Stevenson to remark:⁸

It is easier to ask than to answer the question – How came Sir Nicholas, if he was, as he seems to have been, the eldest son of Henry's eldest son, to have three shells instead of the one shell borne by his grandfather? He certainly was the first-born son (*primogenitus*) of his father. Was it a mere decorative mind that decreed that three shells looked better, or were they symbols of something? Were there three pilgrims or three pilgrimages, or

was the pilgrimage threefold, or was Nicholas a third son to begin with? Perhaps all that can be said is that this reappearance of the ancestor's, merely personal, badge or device, duplicated or triplicated as the fully heraldic bearing of his descendant, is by no means uncommon in the beginnings of hereditary arms. The medieval coat-of-arms of the Apostle James, *azure, three scallop shells, or two and one* was certainly not yet invented.

We might note in passing that the armorial bearings assigned to St. James, as described here, are identical to those we encountered earlier as the arms of the house of Malet (Fig. 2.7).

In 1997, James Graham, the 8th Duke of Montrose and *ex officio* Chief of the Grahams, said that the scallop shells in the Graham arms represent pilgrimages undertaken by three Graham ancestors – medieval knights who journeyed to the shrine of Santiago de Compostela (Fig. 12.1).⁹ Two pilgrimages involved members of the elder (i.e., Dalkeith) line of the Grahams, and their successful journeys – *ca.* 1230-1260 – were commemorated by incorporating the scallop shells into the chief of the armorial shield. The third pilgrim was Sir Patrick Graham, who made two pilgrimages in 1352 and 1361; his passage south was secured by safe conduct certificates for England.¹⁰ The Duke identified this Graham as the 6th of Montrose. The 6th of Montrose (1st Lord Graham) was indeed named Patrick, but this individual's death-date of 1466 (Fig. 1.7)¹¹ does not accord well with being a pilgrim over a hundred years earlier; perhaps it was Sir Patrick, 3rd of Montrose (d. 1400), who made the journeys.

The practice of walking the *Camino* continues today, with some office-bearers from the Clan Graham Society having made a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela during 2012.¹² Fig. 12.2 shows a map of the *Camino* as it is currently constituted. The popularity of this ancient pilgrimage route in modern times (Fig. 12.3) has given rise to at least one recent feature film – *The Way*, starring Martin Sheen¹³ – and has spawned several academic studies, of which a well-known instance was co-authored (appropriately enough) by one Brian Graham.¹⁴ The journey has long had a mystical quality of cosmic and apocalyptic proportions, for insights into which we must turn to folklore expert Francisco Vaz da Silva:¹⁵

[T]he Milky Way must connote otherworldly regeneration. Indeed, it has been known as the Way of St. James, and contemporary pilgrims to this famous pilgrimage still believe that the Milky Way runs parallel to the *Camino de Santiago* “and leads to the end of the earth.” The *Camino* does lead to Finisterre, the medieval end of the earth, which Nancy Frey – in her recent study of this pilgrimage – deems “a point of symbolic death and rebirth or destruction and resurrection.” Fittingly, the sea-scallop shells of this co-called Coast of Death symbolize the whole pilgrimage and its strong ethos of personal redemption. Pilgrims claim, “one must experience and feel the end by coming to this point before one can be reborn into one's everyday life.”

Who could resist a journey with such mythic import? It is certainly on my wish-list.



Fig. 12.1 Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Façade of the Obradoiro. Construction of the cathedral began in 1075 and it was consecrated in 1211.¹⁶ Construction of the Baroque western façade seen in the image (which replaced the medieval one) began in 1738.¹⁷ Image by Antoine Cadotte, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.¹⁸

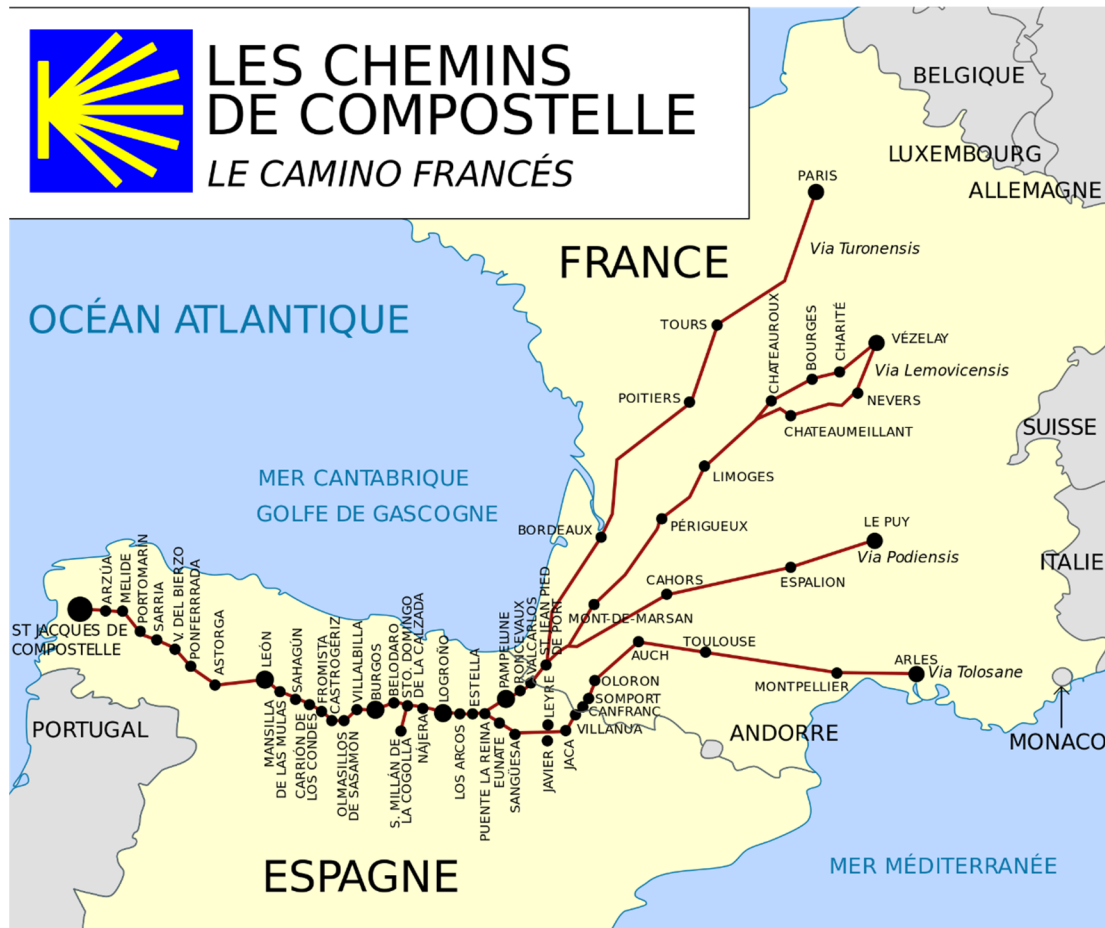


Fig. 12.2 Map of the Camino de Santiago, annotated in French; Santiago de Compostela, in the far northwest of Spain, is labelled St. Jacques de Compostelle. Note the stylized golden scallop shell logo at top left of the map; it is the official sign of the Camino (Fig. 12.3). Image by jynus, reproduced here under Creative Commons Licence BY-SA/2.5.¹⁹



Fig. 12.3 Top of a way-post marking the Camino de Santiago, this one being between Biescas and Orós Alto in the Huesca province of Spain. The stylized golden scallop shell logo atop the post is the official sign of the Camino. Image by Willtron, reproduced (cropped) here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA/3.0.



Fig. 12.4 My local Shell petrol station, on Epping Road, Marsfield, Sydney, NSW 2122.²⁰ Two Shell logos are visible, a smaller one at far left (on the forecourt awning) and a larger one at far right (atop the vertical sign-board).

The Shell logo

One other “family” identified strongly with golden scallop shells is the giant Anglo-Dutch oil and gas company, Shell, whose petrol/service stations worldwide are advertised by what they call “our pecten emblem” in distinctive red and yellow colours (Fig. 12.4).²¹ There is general agreement that the distinctive and long-lived Shell logo constitutes one of the greatest brand symbols of the 20th century.²²

The word Shell first appeared in 1891 as the trademark for kerosene shipped to the Far East by the small London-based firm, Marcus Samuel & Co.²³ This small London business ran a profitable import-export trade with the Far East in antiques, curios and oriental seashells – the last being very popular with the Victorians, who liked to decorate their trinket-boxes with them.²⁴ In 1897, Samuel formed the Shell Transport and Trading Company, whose first logo in 1901 was a mussel shell.²⁵ By 1904, however, it had been replaced with a scallop shell. There is a strong suspicion that the word “Shell” and the pecten symbol may have been suggested by a certain Mr. Graham, of apparent Scottish

origins, who previously had imported Marcus Samuel's kerosene into India and sold it as "Graham's Oil."²⁶ He became a director of The Shell Transport and Trading Company, and – in the words of the Shell corporation itself – "there is some evidence that the Shell emblem was taken from his family coat of arms,"²⁷ which as we know is distinguished by three gold-coloured scallops (Chapter 1). Complementing the company's golden scallop with red may have also have been Graham's idea, prompted by the colour scheme of the Royal Standard of Scotland.²⁸ When Shell Transport and Trading merged in 1907 with Royal Dutch Petroleum, the former's brand name and symbol – Shell and the red-and-gold scallop shell – became the short-form name and emblem of the Royal Dutch Shell Group, respectively, and they remain so to this day.²⁹

One less than stellar episode in the company's recent past involves the Corrib gas controversy on the west coast of Ireland, in which Shell E&P Ireland's determination to process the output of the Corrib gas field onshore in Co. Mayo led, between 2000 and 2013, to numerous ugly confrontations with local residents who objected to the proposed pipeline on health and environmental grounds.³⁰ The bitter and protracted fight, in which Shell was repeatedly accused of heavy-handed and oppressive tactics against protestors, has spawned a non-fiction book and two award-winning documentary films.³¹ One of the films, *The Pipe*, has been screened widely, including on national television in Australia.³² If the exploitation of the locals portrayed in this film is accurate, then the corporate bearer of the golden scallop is a worthy successor to the reivers who bore the emblem on the Anglo-Scottish western border (Chapter 8).³³ Indeed, the scathing modifications to the Shell logo made by Shell to Sea campaigners and other local participants in the Corrib dispute suggest how the Graham arms may have been perceived in 16th-century Dumfriesshire and Cumberland (Fig. 12.5).

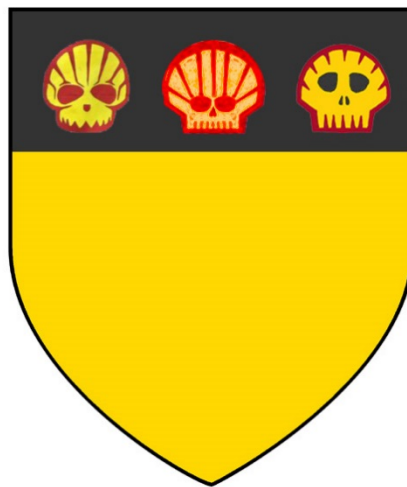


Fig. 12.5 Parody of the Graham arms, showing how they may have been perceived on the 16th-century Anglo-Scottish border (Chapter 8). "All the Cumberland Grahams considered themselves entitled to use the three golden scallop shells borne by the Scottish clan,"³⁴ and many members of the family (both Scottish and English) were notorious reivers.



Fig. 12.6 Statue of St. James the Moor-Slayer, 18th century, Santiago de Compostela. Note the pair of golden scallop shells on the saint's banner and leather breast-plate, and the single shell in the centre of his hat. Image by Romke Hoekstra, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 4.0.³⁵

Sear, and serve with a twist of... irony

In the Middle Ages, the scallop shells of St. James were a sign of humility, poverty and penitence, an identity badge for pilgrims on the *Camino de Santiago* and a tool for collecting alms for the poor.³⁶ In the course of the last century, the “golden pecten” of Shell has become a symbol of enormous wealth, logo to the seventh-largest company in the world,³⁷ and to some a symbol of thuggish oppression and commercial greed.

Members of House Graham are known or suspected to have been involved in both of these histories, helping to establish the scallop shell both as a confession of personal neediness and as a symbol of corporate affluence. But irony and the scallop seem to go hand in hand. Perhaps this is why a family whose oldest and most representative group was founded by an Arab (Chapter 8)³⁸ came to acquire – as its defining symbol – the emblem of a saint revered as *Santiago Matamoros*, St. James the Moor-Slayer, whose memorials are inscribed *Rubet ensis sanguine Arabum* – “My sword is red with the blood of Arabs” (Fig. 12.6).³⁹



Abraham Lincoln's teacher

History, as they say, tends to repeat itself. In Chapter 10 we met a recent William Graham of Scots-Irish ancestry – Billy Graham, the Baptist minister from North Carolina who served as a *de facto* counsellor to the United States presidency. One might think that this was an extraordinary circumstance – a fluke of the 20th century – and yet history suggests that it was not without precedent, for an uncannily similar scenario is alleged to have unfolded in the 19th century as well. This chapter tells that tale. It is the story of another William Graham of Scots-Irish ancestry, a man whose strict Baptist family had been living in North Carolina until shortly before he was born;¹ it is the story of William Mentor Graham (1800-1886), the man who became Abraham Lincoln's teacher (Fig. 13.1).

The next four sections present the life-story of this man, as compiled in the 1940s and 1950s by his biographers Kunigunde Duncan and D.F. Nickols.² The fifth then subjects the completed narrative to critical evaluation and discusses its reception, over the last 75 years, by historians and biographers of Lincoln.

Before the Lincoln years

Mentor was not a nickname, it was William Graham's middle name, given at birth by parents who had determined from the outset "that he must be a teacher."³ It was his preferred name (Fig. 13.2), and his pupils would in time address him as "Uncle Mentor."⁴ Mentor grew up in Brush Creek, Kentucky. A freckled redhead, he received his early tuition on horseback from his uncle, a travelling doctor,⁵ and then at the local "academy" run by another uncle, a wealthy judge.⁶ By age 16, Mentor was earning money by surveying, cabinetmaking, brush-cutting, brickmaking and bricklaying, and it was at this stage that he also began teaching. By age 17 he was married to his sweetheart, Sarah, and was living with her in their cabin near his birthplace. There was early sadness; the stillbirth of their first two children cast a long shadow. Wishing to distance themselves from these misfortunes as well as from the slave-owning milieu and boundary disputes of the south, the couple resolved to move north to Illinois. They would follow their former neighbours, the Armstrongs, who had already made a successful move there;⁷ even in the New World, it seems that the "riding clans" of the Anglo-Scottish Border (Chapter 8) remained closely enmeshed.⁸ Tom Lincoln, the father of Abraham, who used to live a mere 10 miles from Brush Creek, had also relocated his family north – first to Indiana, but then to Illinois.⁹ The families were acquainted; Mentor and Abe (the former being older by nine years) had met by 1811 at the latest, although the encounter generated no conversation worth remembering.¹⁰

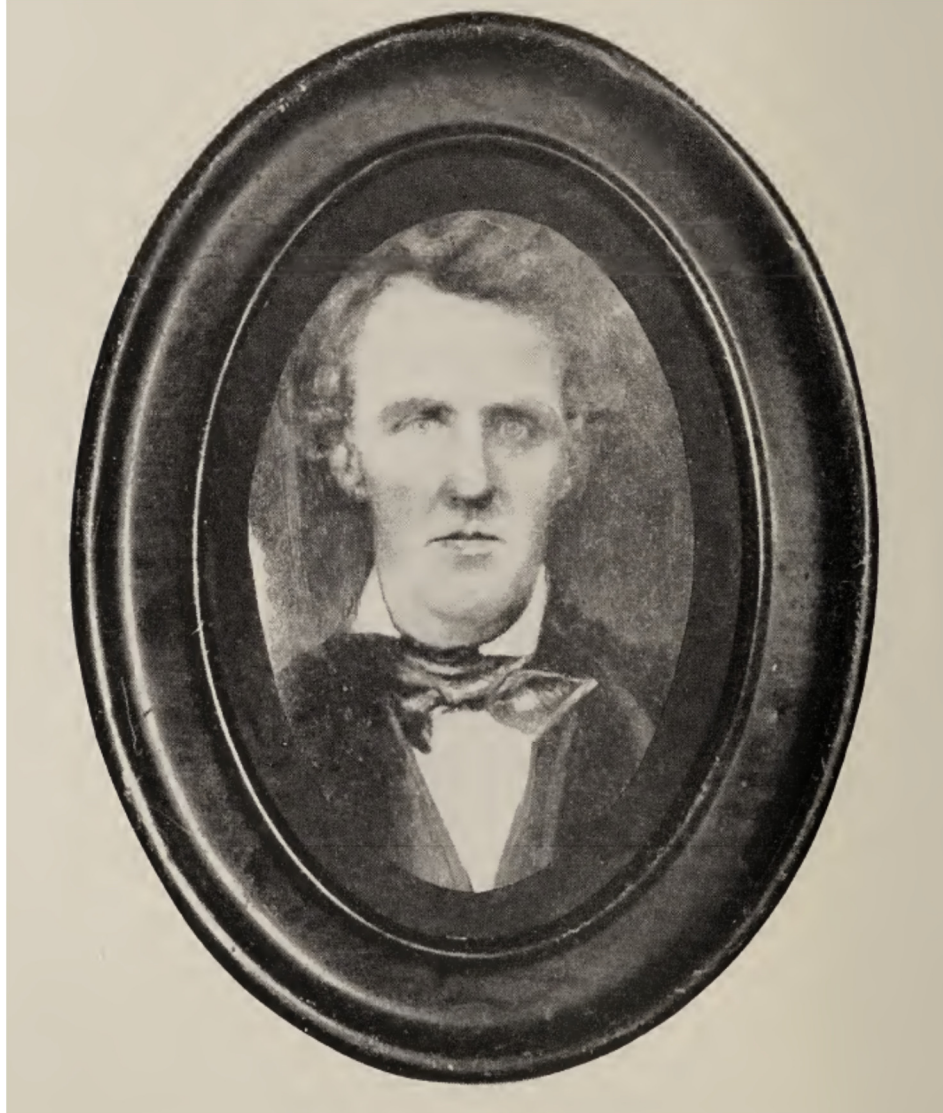


Fig. 13. 1 Mentor Graham as he appeared when he taught Lincoln.¹¹

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Mentor Graham". The signature is written in dark ink on a light-colored background.

Fig. 13.2 Mentor Graham's signature.¹²

Circumstances changed, however, and on this occasion Mentor and Sarah merely relocated within Brush Creek.¹³ Mentor became master of the town school in Greensburg, only to lose all his savings in the collapse of the Greensburg Bank. He regained his prosperity by continuing his teaching, house-building and farming activities.

As the couple remained childless, he was also able to indulge his passion for books, and – under her husband’s influence – Sarah too became well-educated.¹⁴ It was only after the birth of their first living child – a daughter, Almira – that the Grahams decided once again to migrate north to Illinois, and this time, late in 1826, they followed through.¹⁵ Forty years after Mentor’s grandfather had moved his family into Kentucky on horseback, Mentor and his family left it by ox-drawn wagon.¹⁶

Once settled in Illinois on a 40-acre block at Greene’s Rocky Branch, Mentor led the school at the local Baptist church.¹⁷ His biographers work hard to paint a sympathetic portrait of a clever, kind-hearted, generous and sensitive individual who loved children and who performed many civic duties free of charge, such as banking, writing letters and even drafting legal documents for his neighbours.¹⁸ But, at times, even these authors have to admit that there are hints of a different and more trying character within the testimonies of those who knew Mentor Graham. For example, while he was prodigiously well-read and always well-intentioned,¹⁹ it seems that his teaching style was both intense and idiosyncratic, and that he had no tolerance for laziness or impudence:

The tales that have come down to us are contradictory: a whipping, domineering Graham; a gentle, patient, kindly Graham. He is described by those who disliked him as cantankerous, extremely odd; by his friends as high-strung, with an extreme mental and nervous energy that kept him pressing lessons at a smart clip all day long – lessons in which he never wavered from his one overmastering objective: to teach the child to say what he thought audibly, clearly, and well.²⁰

If Graham soundly thrashed some of the grown young men who wandered into school [...] just to devil the teacher, he had good cause. He is said, by descendants of the young men who were thrashed [...], to have been ever ready with the whip. But the others have tales of his patience. No child need fear a blow as long as he was trying, even if he did not succeed. He carried the tired little ones up the hill into town or helped them by the hand. Little children are slow to confide their hands to brutes.²¹

Lincoln as student and friend

Augmenting his meagre teaching income as before, Mentor built a fine brick house near which the town of New Salem sprang up. Another daughter, Minerva, was added to the family.²² In a strange and fearful symmetry, Mentor was dropped from the Baptist congregation for signing a temperance pledge, just as his father before him had been dropped for “tipsying.”²³ Shortly after this, Abraham Lincoln – then just a river-hand – got his flatboat caught on the New Salem milldam and was greatly relieved when Mentor’s plan secured its release.²⁴ (In another duplication of history, he later managed to get a steamboat stuck on the same dam.²⁵) Returning to the town in August 1831, Lincoln helped Mentor by standing in for an absent polling clerk on election day – Lincoln’s first public office.²⁶ Mentor’s biographers relate the encounter as follows:²⁷

Graham, studying the stripling, noting his clear handwriting, and feeling him out on Henry Clay and slavery and temperance, recognized the young man’s mental hunger and decided to try to satisfy it. “Drop in to see me, Lincoln, whenever you feel like it.

Drop in to school down at the church when you're not busy," he told him. They were historic words.

He invited Lincoln out to meet Billy Greene, his cousin, and asked them to supper. Sarah, waiting in the doorway for their response, called Almira to lay two more plates. That evening Mentor Graham and the Lincoln boy had a long talk over the drop-leaf table after the supper dishes had been cleared off by Almira.

Graham told of this first talk so often it has been fairly well preserved. The theme was New Salem itself. Graham had taken such a great liking to his guest that he determined to keep an eye on him, if possible; and he talked up New Salem and her future warmly and long. Lincoln said that he thought he had right smart chance of a shake with Offutt [his boss, a shop-owner] and that he aimed to stay on and storekeep, and Graham sighed with relief. He drew the youth out, learned what education he had had, and, that first night, elicited from him a statement of his ambition to be a public man.

Sarah joined in the talk, after they had finished about Henry Clay and slavery; for then the subject ran to old times in Kentucky, how they had been neighbors; and all the preachings on Green River and Brush Creek and the Nolynn. Sarah warmed to this gangling fellow from home, and Lincoln certainly must have felt welcome. Graham's attitude toward his invited guest seems to have been preserved very much as he must have expressed it: "When Lincoln came into our house that first time, he walked straight to my book shelves and straight into my heart."

New Salem was booming, and Mentor was related to half of its population.²⁸ His school (Fig. 13.3) accommodated both children and adult learners – the latter including

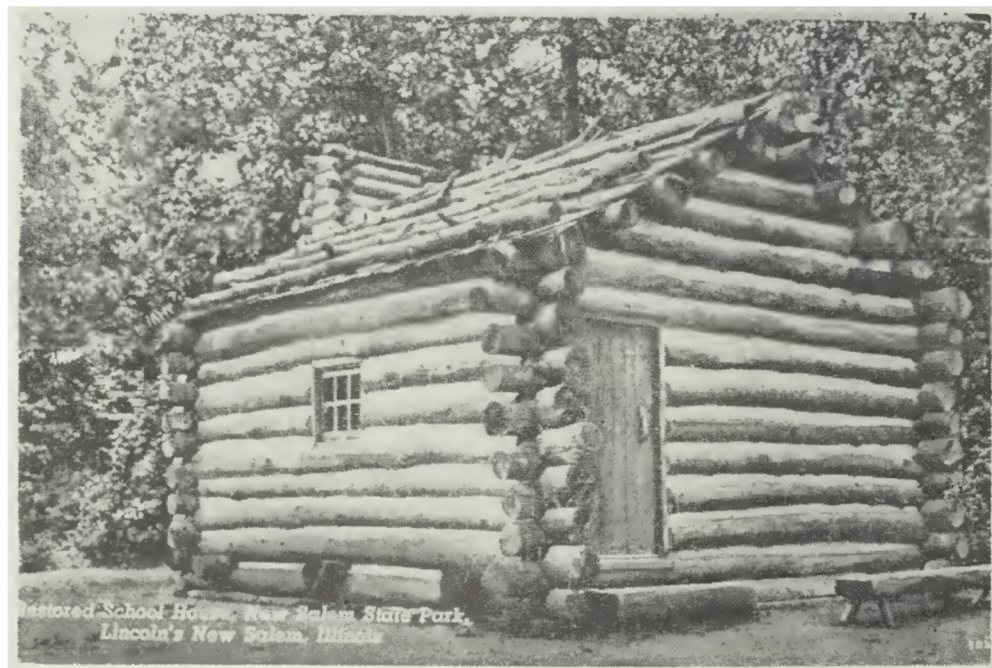


Fig. 13.3 A reconstruction of the Baptist log school-house at New Salem.²⁹

Abraham Lincoln.³⁰ As a hand for hire, Lincoln boarded locally, and eventually came to stay with Mentor Graham.³¹ In Mentor's own words:³²

In the month of February, 1833, Mr. Lincoln came to live with me and continued with me about six months. It was here that he commenced the study of grammar with me. I was then teaching school. I taught him the rules of surveying. I do not think that Mr. Lincoln was anything of a mathematician – especially so of geometry and trigonometry – before he came to my house and I think I may say that he was my scholar and I was his teacher. Mr. Lincoln spoke to me one day and said, “I have a notion of studying grammar.” I replied to him thus, “If you expect to be before the public in any capacity, I think it is the best thing you can do.” He said to me, “If I had a grammar, I would commence now.” There was none in the village [besides Mentor's own which was in constant use at the school], and I said to him, “I know of a grammar at Vance's, about six miles,” which I thought he could get. He was then at breakfast – ate – got up and went on foot to Vance's to get the book. He soon came back with it and said he had it. He then turned his inordinate and almost undivided attention to the subject of grammar. The book was Kirkham's grammar, an old volume which I suppose – so I have heard – is in the Rutledge family today. During the spring, summer and fall he read law, studied and practiced surveying, and the grammar, and would recite to me in the evening. I have taught in my life four to six thousand pupils as a schoolmaster and no one has ever surpassed him in rapidly, quickly and well acquiring the rudiments and rules of English grammar. This, I repeat, was in the spring, summer and fall of 1833.

He was writing deeds, contracts and other papers for the people. His playful hours were pitching quoits, swimming, shooting, telling stories – anecdotes – and not infrequently, truth to say, “sitting up to the fair girls of Illinois.”

However, it was in Mentor's after-school class of advanced learners that Lincoln met Ann Rutledge:³³

She was being privately tutored in grammar this year after school, brushing up preparatory to entering Jacksonville Female College another year. [...] Ardently Abe Lincoln beamed her about and thus gave the gossips a new topic. [...] Graham, confided in about this affair of the heart as about affairs of the pocketbook, mind, and soul, was as pleased as Puck. “An *ideal* match!” – shuffling his cuffs with nervous joy – “*Both* of you like books!” Legend says the young couple were betrothed on July 4, 1833, after the village celebration of Independence. In 1865 Graham wrote: “Lincoln and she were engaged. Lincoln told me so. She intimated to me the same.”

When Lincoln talked of reading law, Mentor Graham lent him his form-book of legal templates along with his copies of Kentucky and Illinois laws.³⁴ Lincoln boarded with the Grahams free of charge; he and Mentor read aloud, discussed and debated together long into the night, even until sunrise – much to the chagrin of Mentor's wife Sarah (Fig. 13.4), who was once again pregnant.³⁵ Exhausted by the endless feeding, clothing and cleaning required by the growing family – which included six children by 1835, and ultimately eleven – her relationship with Mentor became strained.³⁶ Lincoln moved out to stay where he now worked, but returned often for meals, conversation and instruction.



Fig. 13.4 Sarah Graham, Mentor's wife.³⁷

“The schoolmaster, walking to the woods with Lincoln in order to escape Sarah’s blighting tongue, was overjoyed: his most advanced learner had become his dearest friend.”³⁸ His biographers reflect on Mentor’s contribution to Lincoln’s education as follows:³⁹

A self-effacing man, Mentor Graham, whose delight in life lay not in making himself, but in trying to make his country, great; a man easily overlooked among the self-perpetuators who have always delayed the world; a man to be dismissed with a sentence by biographers of a national savior. Yet Robert Browne, writing of these years, began the restoration of this humble man to his rightful-place when he wrote: “Mr. Graham must have been a diligent student, a patient teacher and a kindly disposed man. Mr. Lincoln always respected him, saying of him: ‘he had more information, better methods and knew better how to tell what he knew than any teacher I had met or studied with up to that time. He taught me about all I had to begin with in grammar. He told me where I could get a copy of Kirkham’s *Grammar*, which I got very soon by walking out into the country for it six miles. I like the old book yet; but it was a puzzler at the start with its four, five and six-headed rules, about as complicated to beginners as the Longer Catechism and Thirty Articles were for young ministers.” And Barton, sensing something deeper, added: “Graham helped Lincoln with literary composition and knew more of Abraham Lincoln’s mind during this period than any other.”

In 1834, Lincoln – a part-time surveyor who was still studying to be a lawyer – was elected to represent the county in the Illinois state legislature.⁴⁰ But his fiancée Ann’s untimely death the next year crushed his spirits, requiring Mentor to counsel him against taking his own life.⁴¹ New Salem began to fade, losing ground to nearby Petersburg, and the Graham household fell on hard times, with Lincoln – who remained at the legislature – chipping in money on at least one occasion to help Mentor make ends meet.⁴² Lincoln continued as a state legislator. The Grahams’ match-making saw him paired with Mary Owens, but their relationship did not progress to marriage.⁴³ Lincoln – now a qualified lawyer – distanced himself from the site of his two unsuccessful liaisons and began his life afresh in the new state capital at Springfield. New Salem – now called Old Salem – withered and died.⁴⁴

President Lincoln

By 1840, Mentor and Sarah were again prosperous, with nine living children.⁴⁵ But, as time took its toll of former friends, Mentor was fast running out of close confidants and intellectual equals.⁴⁶ Once at the centre of civic life in New Salem, he was relegated to the fringes of the new order at Springfield.⁴⁷ In 1842, he took on teaching at a more distant school – Tonica – which required him to board on weekdays, thereby relieving much of the tension in his marriage to Sarah.⁴⁸ His eldest daughter, Almira, married in that year, and Abraham Lincoln did, too – the latter to Mary Todd.⁴⁹ The Grahams were not invited to the wedding, and Lincoln never brought his wife to their house.⁵⁰ He visited them twice while campaigning in 1843; on the second occasion Mentor – despite their long-shared conviction that slavery constituted an impending national disaster – “realized how they were growing apart.”⁵¹

In 1845, Lincoln – acting as lawyer for the widow of one of Mentor’s close friends – successfully sued Mentor for repayment of a loan of \$100, although he also dropped by to talk over possible resolutions to the debt, and hatched a successful plan whereby Mentor would meet the debt by calling in all unpaid moneys from his own debtors,

Lincoln included. The plan worked.⁵² There seem to have been no hard feelings; Lincoln stayed at the Graham house during a subsequent court session while he prosecuted cases against other locals, all of which he won, and Mentor always took time out to attend court sessions in Petersburg when Lincoln was involved in a case.⁵³

In 1846, Lincoln was elected to Congress.⁵⁴ A new town north-east of Springfield was named for Lincoln and christened by him.⁵⁵ He continued to visit the Grahams.⁵⁶ Mentor lost his schoolmaster's job for lecturing his students on the evils of slavery, and had settled for farming his lots, supporting Lincoln in town, and private tutoring when – in 1859 – he was sought out to teach a school of 70 pupils at Concord.⁵⁷ While he was teaching there, the decisive hand of fate intervened.⁵⁸

Then came 1860, fast moving, overflowing. Graham's school prospered: seven of his advanced learners were accepted by the academy in Petersburg. Crops were good. Home from a trip to Springfield one day, Graham ran from stable to house, shouting: "Halloo! HALLOO! Abe's been nominated for President! PRESIDENT!"

Sarah, forgetting her numerous disparaging remarks, greeted this unparalleled outburst with "Well, if he gets there, you can thank nobody but yourself for setting him on the right track."

"Maybe so. Maybe so. But he will set this country on the right track. I tell you, right from the start, I saw that fellow had capacity – CAPACITY!"

Mass rallies followed in the region, in which 100,000 people trekked to Springfield in support of Lincoln. And then, victory!

On election day, when Lincoln spied him in the press at Springfield, Graham threw his stovepipe hat into the air so many times he had to buy a new one. This was the proudest day of his life, the day when his believed-in, most advanced learner was chosen to lead the nation.

As inauguration day approached, he weighed the pros and cons of going. Sarah finally decided the matter: "You go, Mentor. I'll make out." And Graham went to the capitol dressed in a new suit and kid gloves, carrying a new carpetbag. And, of course, the hat was all but new.

Perhaps one high hour of life is worth living toward, struggling up to. Perhaps one hour, if it be high enough, is worth long, slow years of declining away from, once it has passed. Such an hour was Graham's. For as he seated himself at the front, that his good ear might catch all that was said, Lincoln sent for him. He sat, quivering – almost palsied – with pride and joy on the platform at the inauguration of A. Lincoln, president of the United States – A. Lincoln, to whom he had given his first public office as assistant clerk in little New Salem's election. It was a lasting glory.⁵⁹

As far as available records show, Graham and Lincoln did not communicate while Lincoln was in presidential office. Graham had no political favor to ask; he wished none. His was a much larger satisfaction, already achieved. His job was teaching. He was only inviolably proud of the man he had helped to save the nation.⁶⁰

The Civil War

Within months, the nation was at breaking point and Unionist forces locked horns with Southern Confederate ones. Several of Mentor's sons joined the Unionist cause and left to fight. Mentor produced supplies for the Northern army and covered for the absence of one of his sons as teacher at Curtis school; later, as old men and women, his students there shared their memories of this schoolmaster with his biographers in 1941-2, using the "precise and thoughtful language" that he had instilled in them.⁶¹ In 1863, Mentor transferred to the school at Tick Ridge, which offered him better pay; again, his students there recalled him with clarity when interviewed in their old age. Local tensions were running high along the political fault line, and Mentor was not immune from physical attacks. But he had anticipated such problems and his contingency plans saw him through.⁶² After Tick Ridge he taught at Hog Corner and then, in 1864, at Franklin.⁶³

Lincoln's assassination in 1865 shattered Mentor (Fig. 13.5). The war had been won, his sons had survived it, slavery had finally been abolished, but Mentor was traumatised; for some years he could no longer bear to read books beyond the texts he taught at school.⁶⁴ Although old, he was always in demand as a teacher at the local schools,⁶⁵ until in 1869 he was dismissed for insisting that boys and girls play separately.⁶⁶ Mentor resumed private tutoring.⁶⁷ That same year, his wife Sarah died.⁶⁸ Mentor sold the farm and followed some of his children to a village called Greenvew, and then resumed teaching at rural schools.⁶⁹ By 1872, his reputation for training fine minds and articulate mouths had granted him local fame; indeed, it was not until 1878 – at the age of 78 – that he taught his last school (Fig. 13.6).⁷⁰ He was then living in Lincoln with his son Harry, and in that same year he followed some of his grand-daughters in being admitted to its Cumberland Presbyterian Church.⁷¹ His financially secure retirement was undone by a nephew who tricked Mentor into signing away his life savings and promptly disappeared to Kansas City.⁷² At the age of 83, an impecunious Mentor auctioned most of his books and joined Harry's family in a final migration west, this time as pioneers to South Dakota.⁷³ Once again, the promised land proved full of hardship and privations.⁷⁴ Three years later, on 15 November, 1886, Mentor Graham died while out walking on a cold wintry day; they found his body with "a finger still keeping his place between the pages of his book."⁷⁵

Mentor was buried in South Dakota under a wooden slab inscribed "The Teacher of Abraham Lincoln."⁷⁶ Harry and his family returned to Illinois in 1897.⁷⁷ Mentor's grave lay forgotten until 1933, when one of his grand-daughters – herself a teacher – arranged for his body to be repatriated to Old/New Salem and be reburied beside the grave of his wife Sarah.⁷⁸ By 1944 the township had been recreated, complete with the Baptist-church schoolhouse of Mentor Graham, as a tribute to Abraham Lincoln.⁷⁹ On the monument

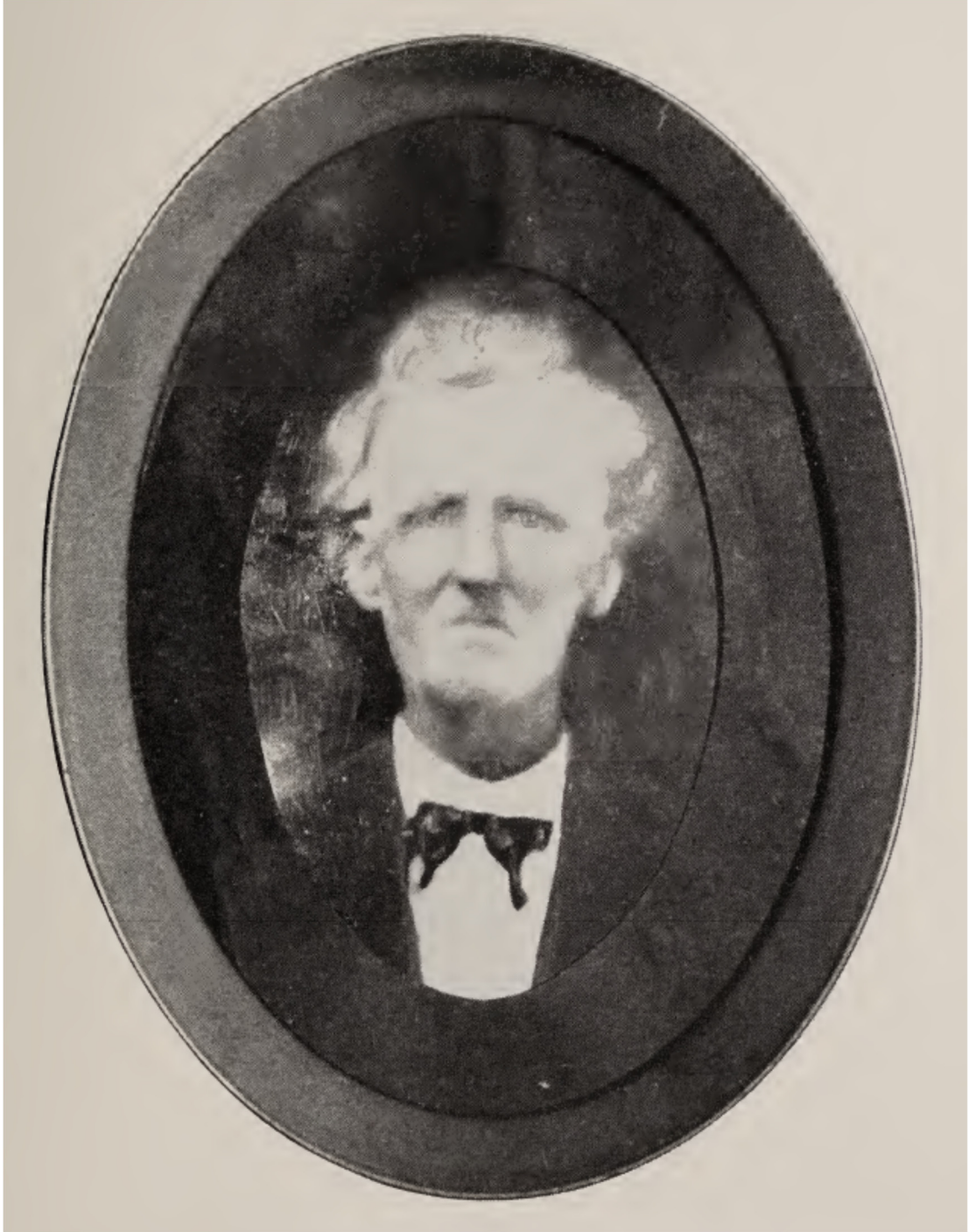


Fig. 13.5 Mentor Graham *ca.* 1865, after Abraham Lincoln's assassination.⁸⁰



Fig. 13.6 Mentor Graham in 1875, at the time of teaching his final school.⁸¹

above Mentor's grave is etched a Grecian lamp, beneath which is the inscription "Abraham Lincoln's Tutor at New Salem" – a modest tribute to "a man who never guessed that he was lighting a lamp to burn through the ages."⁸²

Mentor's legacy

Mentor's own records of his life were lost when he moved with Harry's family to South Dakota; his biographers record that not only was his treasured library sent to auction, but "At that time his great stacks of laboriously penned papers and his array of scrapbooks had been burned."⁸³ Presumably this was done simply as a matter of expediency; nobody could afford the cost of transporting them and there was no prospect of storing them at the rude frontier to which the family was headed. Fortunately, some of his letters to others survive, such as those providing information to William Herndon in 1865 for the latter's biography of Lincoln. To Herndon he wrote:

In New Salem he [Lincoln] devoted more time to reading the scriptures, books on science and comments on law and to the acquisition of knowledge of men and things than any man I ever knew and it has been my lot to teach in the primary school forty-five years and I must say that Abraham Lincoln was the most studious, straight-forward young man in the pursuit of a knowledge of literature than any among the five thousand I have taught in the schools. The time I allude to is his studiousness in Salem from 1832 to 1836. He was regular in his habits, punctual in doing anything that he promised or agreed to do. His method of doing anything was very systematic. He discharged all his obligations and duties to his God, his fellow men, himself and his country with more fidelity than is common to humanity.

You ask what gave him the title of "honest Abe." That is answered in these few words. He was strictly *honest*, *truthful* and *industrious* and in addition to this he was one of the most companionable persons you will ever meet in this world.

He was well calculated to be President of such a nation as ours and it may be a *long*, *long* time before we have another to be his equal. I have no idea that this or any other country has ever had his superior. He is now and always will be first in the hearts of his countrymen. How much, how deep, how feelingly have we grieved his loss.⁸⁴

I wish to say one or two words about his character. It was this – he was a very simple, open-souled man; [...] a man of purpose, very frank and ingenuous; he was kind, humorous and always honest, never deviating from the exact truth; he was studious, so much so that he somewhat injured his health and constitution. The continuous study of the man caused – with the death of one he dearly and ardently loved [i.e., Ann Rutledge] a momentary – only partial and momentary circumplacement. Mr. Lincoln's character at once seized the observation and that only led to respect, love and confidence in Abraham Lincoln.⁸⁵

In view of Mentor Graham's wide-ranging tuition and guidance of the young Abraham Lincoln, as well as the two men's intense intellectual rapport over many years, it is surprising to read in Lincoln's 1860 autobiography the claim that, in learning the law, "He studied with nobody."⁸⁶ Mentor's biographers are left to bewail that "It is a wonder that Lincoln, with a mind as retentive as his, forgot to include all this when, years later, he was importuned for the facts of his life."⁸⁷ Perhaps Mentor's influence and contribution were exaggerated both by himself and by the informants upon whom his biographers were obliged to rely, many of whom were themselves Grahams.⁸⁸

Alternatively, Lincoln may have been embarrassed by the memory of his early efforts; unflattering tales have it that his appearance, manners and speaking style required a lot of correction (and indeed parody) from Graham before his audience would take him seriously.⁸⁹ One should also bear in mind that Lincoln's 1860 autobiography was edited by others (which is why Lincoln appears to refer to himself in the third person) and that it was never intended to be a balanced memoir but rather a political advertisement – it was created “to use in preparing a popular campaign biography in the election of that year.”⁹⁰ Without wishing to cast aspersions on Abe's legendary honesty,⁹¹ we should remember that political propaganda invariably tells only what its authors think will be useful to their cause.

All biographers agree that, by the 1840s, there had been a cooling of relations between the two men; Mentor's biographers record that, as early as 1841, Lincoln's visits to the Grahams had become rare. Although the pattern of earlier times was easily resumed, “the old intimacy was rarely reached. Lincoln's widening horizons, his growing self-assurance, his mention of his new friends – unknown to Graham – made the two men more nearly strangers. They talked – but without the old camaraderie, eye to eye. The greater man – did he realize the yearning of the lesser, his one-time generous, unrelenting teacher?”⁹² By 1846, “Abe had far outgrown the schoolmaster, mentally. Being a sincere teacher, Mentor was delighted to acknowledge this, for the real teacher wants nothing more than to see his best pupil outstrip him.” But, having greatly surpassed his teacher, perhaps the Great Emancipator genuinely imagined himself to be a self-made man. Had Lincoln lived to mellow in old age, perhaps there might have been some corrective twinges of conscience and a more generous sharing of credit – but the assassin's bullet felled Lincoln in his prime.

Not everyone was blind to Mentor's “supporting role” in American history prior to the publication of his biography by Kunigunde Duncan and D.F. Nickols in 1944.⁹³ In 1931, the poet Vachel Lindsay published a tribute of nine stanzas titled “Mentor Graham, School-Master One Hundred And One Years Ago.” The opening stanza, and the last four, read:⁹⁴

Wondering if his training was a waste,
And if the prairie laughed his thought to scorn,
Thus muttered Graham to his Plutarch book,
With none to shepherd, though a teacher born: –

“Perhaps, tonight, a conqueror comes on.
Ruler of weariness and fate and pain.
Within his pockets, note books of his youth,
Within his soul, great passions held in rein.

“No doubt, tonight, some wild boy passes by
Bearing wise sayings from the LAW BOOKS grim.
Or, it may be, a better light than mine,
More like Aladdin's, not, like this one, dim.”

“All it will need – The oil, and wick, and flame,
And school-house room, to keep the wind away,
I can provide. Ah, if a lamp he brings,
It shall be trimmed and burnished every day.”

Thus, Mentor Graham thought, on New Year’s night.
And 1830 died, with lonely wing.
But 1831 came in with pride,
Abe Lincoln found that schoolhouse in the spring.

As Mentor’s biographers point out, Lincoln actually found the schoolhouse in the autumn of 1831, not the spring.⁹⁵ But the tribute is appreciated nonetheless.

Taking their cue from Lincoln’s failure to mention Mentor in his brief 1860 autobiography,⁹⁶ many of the president’s biographers have – to the present day – sought to minimise and even belittle Mentor’s contribution. So it is with the Pulitzer Prize-winning author David Donald, whose 1995 biography *Lincoln* (a *New York Times* bestseller, no less) treats Mentor with undisguised contempt. While admitting that the drafting of Lincoln’s 1832 appeal to the electorate in Springfield’s *Sangamo Journal* “probably had some assistance from John McNeil, the storekeeper, and possibly from schoolmaster Mentor Graham,” Donald considered the involvement of either man a negative, suggesting only that “they may have been responsible for its somewhat orotund quality.”⁹⁷ Lincoln’s acquisition of, and learning from, Kirkham’s *Grammar* was entirely his own enterprise, according to Donald; moreover, “Some of those who participated in this drill – like Mentor Graham, the semi-literate schoolmaster, who did not himself own a grammar – later came to consider themselves Lincoln’s instructors, but in fact he was, in grammar as in other subjects, essentially self-taught.”⁹⁸

The truth of the matter probably lies somewhere between the two extremes propagated by – on the one hand – the elite hagiographers of Abraham Lincoln, the self-made man, and – on the other – the homespun historians who uncritically collected local lore about Mentor Graham. David Donald’s claim that Mentor was “semi-literate” is untenable in light of those letters of his which survive,⁹⁹ but the real extent of Mentor’s influence upon Lincoln’s developing character is difficult to gauge. Despite being published by the University of Chicago Press, his 1944 biography by Duncan & Nickols – *Mentor Graham: The Man Who Taught Lincoln* – contains a range of factual errors that moved one reviewer to castigate its authors with “Graham did not tolerate such,” before levelling the more unsettling complaint that “undocumented thoughts and conversations, plausible enough, but not facts, are so frequently directly quoted that one becomes distrustful of what appears to be fact.”¹⁰⁰ Another reviewer goes further, observing archly that:¹⁰¹

Graham’s testimony, as well as that of his descendants and former pupils, shows a full share of human fallibility [...] Granted that Graham knew Lincoln for a brief period with some intimacy and that this friendly relationship may have been interwoven with discussion of books and of religious, political, and philosophical questions in general, there seems to be no justification in the facts for representing Lincoln as an attendant pupil in Graham’s school at New Salem, Illinois, when Lincoln was a young man twenty-

three years old and, as he put it “already doing for himself.” [...] This attempt to prolong Lincoln’s immaturity in order that Graham may be presented as his classroom teacher is hardly justifiable even as fiction. [...] Moreover, t]he fact that existing manuscripts in the Weik collection in the Library of Congress show evidence in Graham’s own hand that he was not very competent in grammar, punctuation, capitalization, or sentence structure raises a serious question whether Graham could possibly have been of much help even if Lincoln had sought his assistance.

Perhaps Benjamin Thomas struck the right balance in his 1952 book *Abraham Lincoln – A Biography* when he wrote of the New Salem years: “For the most part, he [i.e., Lincoln] taught himself, but whenever he needed help he consulted Mentor Graham, a local schoolmaster.”¹⁰² Measured too is James McPherson, another Pulitzer Prize-winner and Professor Emeritus of United States History at Princeton University, who in his 2009 biography *Abraham Lincoln* wrote: “During the New Salem years Lincoln developed new purpose and direction. The local schoolmaster, the aptly named Mentor Graham, guided his study of mathematics and literature.”¹⁰³ Mentor receives no other mention from these historians, and perhaps none is warranted.



Nuts and crackers

This chapter deals with Grahams who might politely be described as “eccentric.” It presents a selection of larger-than-life individuals that includes Dr. James Graham, the pioneer sexologist; Sylvester Graham, inventor of the Graham cracker; William Graham, an oriental collector of mermaids, and “Don Roberto” Cunninghame Graham, an international adventurer, activist and author.

Dr. James Graham and the Temple of Hymen

Born in Edinburgh in 1745, Dr. James Graham (Fig. 14.1) “was an exhibitionist and



Fig. 14.1 James Graham: Addressing a Lady Walking on the High Bridge, Edinburgh. Etching by J. Kay, 1785. Wellcome Collection, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY 4.0.¹

entrepreneur, a self-confessed eccentric [... and yet] a man of significant medical ideas”² His own pamphlets characterise his training as follows. “Dr. Graham, after a regular, classical, and medical education of many years, at the justly celebrated university of Edinburgh, and after attending to the practice in the best Hospitals, and the lectures of the greatest Physicians in London, Dublin, etc. became exceedingly dissatisfied at the trifling absurdities and feebleness of what is called the regular practice of Physic [medicine].”³ He therefore travelled widely in Europe and America, experimenting and accumulating knowledge over a period of 12 years, and returned to Britain to set up his own system of healing and therapy.⁴ Although he styled himself “Dr. Graham” or “James Graham, M.D.,” at no stage did he take a degree.⁵ In London, he opened the Temple of Health at the Royal Terrace, Adelphi (near the Strand), late in 1779 or early in 1780, and subsequently the Temple of Hymen in Schomberg House (Fig. 14.2), Pall Mall, in 1781.⁶ The Temple of Hymen was named for the Greek god of marriage, for Dr. Graham had appointed himself as a sex therapist to the high society of London.⁷ His patrons included the Duchess of Devonshire, Charles James Fox, John Wilkes and courtesans such as



Fig. 14.2 Schomberg House in 2005; the façade has barely changed since its construction.⁸ Image by Steve Cadman, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY SA 2.0.⁹

Elizabeth Armistead.¹⁰ At his lectures, Dr. Graham is thought to have employed a succession of barely draped young models as “Goddesses of Health;” legend tells that among these beauties was Amy Lyon (Emma Hart, Fig. 14.3), who in later years would become Lady Hamilton and take Lord Horatio Nelson as her lover.¹¹



Fig. 14.3 Emma Hart (afterwards Lady Hamilton) as the Goddess of Health, while being exhibited in that character by Dr. Graham in Pall Mall. Print by Richard Cosway, *ca.* 1775-1780.¹²

Graham's theory of interpersonal attraction involves an amalgam of chemical influences ("insensible perspiration," which today would be called pheromone effects) and seemingly plausible – but incorrectly applied – electromagnetic concepts.¹³ His understanding seems to have been well aligned with Mesmer's "animal magnetism" which was in vogue in that era.¹⁴ In other respects Graham was perhaps ahead of his time; he was a strong advocate for personal hygiene, fresh air and outdoor exercise,¹⁵ and he had realised that medicines containing mercury (a highly toxic metal) often caused more severe and lasting damage than the infections that they were intended to cure.¹⁶

Much of Graham's lifestyle advice now seems eccentric.¹⁷ He firmly believed that spouses should not habitually sleep next to one another, but should use separate beds and preferably separate rooms. In his view, the "most hurtful custom of man and wife continually *pigging* together in one and the same bed" constituted "matrimonial whoredom" and a "family stew."¹⁸ As an antidote, the police force of Britain (and indeed every country) should be set to enforcing public and private baths.¹⁹

For general health, the good Dr. Graham peddled three miraculous medicines that were universally beneficial to the members of his audience (Fig. 14.4). The Electrical Æther seems to have been an aromatherapy mixture designed mainly for topical application and especially inhalation,²⁰ whereas the Nervous Ætherial Balsam was an oil to be taken internally.²¹ The Imperial Electric Pills were "universal purifiers and sweetners of the blood and juices," again to be ingested.²² Together, these account for "the astonishing and well known numbers which are daily dismissed from the Temple of Health perfectly cured of diseases which had baffled all other human means,"²³ and indeed they were capable of rescuing desperate cases from death's door in a matter of hours.²⁴

The more sensational – indeed, electrifying – cures of the good doctor took place at the Temple of Health, where he had installed a complex array of electrostatic and chemical apparatuses.²⁵ He was particularly proud of a suspiciously phallic masterpiece which he describes as follows:²⁶

In the centre of the room between these metallic pillars, stands a massy pedestal, four feet and a half high, five feet in circumference, richly carved, gilt, and highly ornamented in white and gold. From the top of the pedestal rise three large proportioned columns of beautifully cut, and very brilliant flint glass, with a spirally enamelled solid glass pillar in the centre of each of the three large ones; which, altogether, support an electrical prime conductor, laying horizontally and lengthwise along the room. This stupendous metallic conductor, is a cylinder ending in two semi-globes: it is no less than eleven feet long, and four feet in circumference; and is so far elevated from the floor, that a man of six feet four inches high could walk erect under the lowest part of it.

Erect is indeed the word that springs to mind.

For complexity and obscurity, Dr. Graham's inventions rival the contents of Ezekiel's visions and anticipate the contraptions in Dr. Frankenstein's laboratory, with a dash of Hogwarts thrown in. Warming to his theme, Graham continues:²⁷



Fig. 14.4 James Graham lecturing from a podium, to a crowd of ladies and gentlemen. Etching by John Boyne, 1783. Wellcome Collection, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY 4.0.²⁸

At the lower end of the room, in a line with the conductor, etc. stands in a great frame of the finest Zebra wood, a noble cylinder, of pure snowy white enameled glass, highly polished, and of prodigiously large dimensions. Before this cylinder, exactly in the centre between the four metallic pillars, is placed a most elegant and SUPERB PEDESTAL, carved with uncommon richness, and double gilt with superior magnificence. From the top of it rises a large massy tube of pure flint glass, with spiral tubes in the inside of Lapis Lazuli and golden coloured glass; and on each side two triangularly cut brilliant pillars of flint glass, of exquisite workmanship, the prism exhibiting all the colours of the rainbow, all of which supporting a fiery dragon, of no less than six feet in length, double gilt, and of most exquisite workmanship. Its wings are expanded, its eyes blaze with electrical fire, it appears flying through the luminous atmosphere, towards the cylinder, and with its forked crimson coloured tongue it receives the lambent elementary fire, which is communicated to every part of the apparatus by the tail of this tremendous animal, which rests on one end of the prime conductor, etc. The fire then passing through the body of the fiery dragon, thro' the conductor, the globes, and the rich medicinal substances, goes along massive brass rods [...] to a superb insulated throne ten feet high, which is erected in front of the apparatus. The throne is a circular platform, fifteen feet in circumference, firmly supported by four massy transparent glass pillars, each weighing about twenty-five pounds, their circular bases richly carved and gilt with burnished gold, and the whole supported by square white plinths – of great strength and security. The platform is covered with rich carpeting; and the seat above it, is likewise circular, and accommodates under various operations, six or eight persons at one time. It is covered with crimson flowered silk damask, highly ornamented with fringe, etc. and supported by four pillars richly gilt and burnished.

All of this, and much more, was contained in Room I alone. In Room II there was another highly complex installation servicing a seat that could accommodate 12 patients, while Room III housed a “magnetic chair” for solo therapy and a variety of machines for delivering the electrical fire to specific parts of the body.²⁹ Room IV – the Great Apollo Apartment – was the Temple proper, reportedly dizzying in its proportions and sublime in its appointments.³⁰ The good doctor never shied away from purple prose.

As mentioned above, Dr. Graham’s special focus was sexual health. In his “Lecture on Generation, etc., of the Human Species Delivered at the Temple of Hymen, by the Doctor himself” we learn that he opposes prostitution, advocates a tax on those who reach a certain age without having married, and favours a baby-bonus to incentivise married couples to procreate.³¹ Healthy male parts should display a “round genial balminess, – with that satisfactory glowing, and manly vigour!”³² all the better to enjoy that “convulsive and extatic spasm, – that temporary dissolution, ejection, or going out of all the faculties of body and soul [...] which we very properly term the act of generation.”³³ But energising the female egg is only a secondary purpose of male semen, for this fluid (which he calls “this balmy – spiritous – vivifying essence [...] the breath of beauty! – condensed light!”) actually infuses the whole body, “animating with light, strength, and serenity, the whole frame.”³⁴ An insufficient reserve of semen (caused by excessive ejaculation, howsoever achieved) inevitably leads to “debility of body and mind” including “epilepsy, – loss of memory, [...] – feeble, harsh and squeaking voice, [...] – idiotism, horrors” and even death.³⁵ So earnest is his belief that he commends suicide as preferable to masturbation.³⁶ Even more baffling to modern readers is that his advice on

seminal retention applies to both sexes,³⁷ for he says “supremely blessed! in my opinion, are those young men and women, who live, till they are at least twenty years of age, without ever once having had even one seminal emission in their whole life, asleep or awake, voluntarily or involuntarily!”³⁸ Dr. Graham believes that the surplus effluvium stored up in healthy young people can atone for the lack of it in the old and debilitated; he notes that other physicians may “cause a lovely girl [...], in the bloom of youth and beauty, to be laid in the bed of a decrepit old man, in order that the fire of youth may dissolve the ice of age.” However, he does not appear to offer this therapy himself, although – equally – he fails to condemn it.³⁹

For women who are “pale, lean an[d] relaxed” we are told that “sprightly music is necessary,” along with a range of potions. Sensibly enough, one of these tonics seems to address the possibility of anaemia due to dietary iron deficiency, although the proposed remedy is hardly subtle: “let four ounces of unmixed iron filings, or broken needles, and saffron and cinnamon bruised small, each an ounce, salt of amber half an ounce, let all be put in a bottle of Champaigne wine, and take a spoonful of it twice a day.”⁴⁰ Hopefully most of the sharps remain as a sediment in the bottle. Moreover, “In cases of langour, in order to brace the *parts of generation*, [...] mix cold spring water with brandy, bathe the parts alluded to twice a day.”⁴¹ In general, he tells us, the “simple and delightful affair of bathing the private parts and fundament every night and morning, summer and winter, in sickness and in health, in cold milk or water – is of more importance to the bodily health, youthful beauty, and sweet desirableness of men and women, than any thing I can possibly mention or inculcate.”⁴²

The same ablutions should be observed immediately after coitus. The colder the water, the better the results: the nether regions “should be well washed and bathed for a long while with icy cold raw water” so as to cause “A cold, glowing, full liquid balmy firmness of [...] the genital parts in both men and women [...] Cold balmy corrugated firmness in those parts is the high standard point of health and vigour of body and mind.”⁴³ To add some fizz to one’s love-life, the water may be replaced with sparkling wine. Ladies are encouraged to pour a flask of ice-cold Champagne into their “bowers of bliss” “every night and morning, at early hours;⁴⁴ after all, what woman can resist a pre-dawn douche of refrigerated Moët & Chandon? For men, the immediate post-coital follow-up is all-important: “[T]he instant application of the icy cold vivifying water, or sparkling wine – effectually locks the cock, and secures all for the next rencontre! – Indeed, certain parts, which next morning after a laborious night would be relaxed, lank, and pendulous, like the two eyes of a dead sheep dangling in a wet empty calf’s bladder, by the frequent and judicious use of the icy cold water, would be like a couple of steel balls, of a pound apiece, inclosed in a firm purse of uncut Manchester velvet!”⁴⁵ For women, following the same advice preserves “the blooming plumpness – the rich juicyness – and the fine glowing juvenile down of the PEACH of beauty!”⁴⁶

To ensure that a gentleman’s balls of steel can deliver the goods within the PEACH of beauty, the good doctor provides extensive dietary advice, which includes the drinking of

large quantities of cold eggnog. This ensures that “a genial, round, and very copious tide of prolific semen must be generated.”⁴⁷ In this manner, “on a tender rendezvous with a blooming virgin” a man can “acquit himself with honour, – to rivet a conquest.”⁴⁸ Of course, if nailing the virgin herself is not an option, an infatuated man can follow Dr. Graham’s example of an Edinburgh hairdresser, who was so aroused by the pretty young lady he was coiffuring that he had to excuse himself prematurely, whereupon “he run home in a desperate hurry, sprung aboard of his astonished [and hitherto barren] wife, and actually got her with THREE fine lively children by one critical stroke!”⁴⁹ Thankfully, the fantasy-file method is a proven adjuvant for those married to “sour, sluggish, or ugly women.”⁵⁰ Similarly, the good doctor tells of a lustful European dame who, “being no longer lovely,” hit upon the following successful stratagem: “she put into bed, alongside of her, a sweet, firm, smooth, plump and rosy young girl, and when she found her gallant flag in his embraces, she slily begged of him [...] to stroke, and to run deliciously over certain parts of this sweet, firm, polished, glowing young creature! This, she found, always kindled his ardour afresh.”⁵¹ Sound thinking indeed; clearly nothing could ever go wrong with such a sensible and straightforward plan.

If his various regimes and concoctions (or should that be con-cock-tions?) fail to deliver the promised pregnancy, the good doctor had a final ace up his sleeve: the Celestial Bed! During his time in Philadelphia, where he had studied Benjamin Franklin’s work on electricity and magnetism,⁵² it had occurred to him that “the pleasure of the venereal act might be exalted or rendered more intense, if performed under the glowing, accelerating, and most genial influences of that heaven-born, all-animating element or principle, the electrical or concocted fire.”⁵³ By this he means static electricity. For the prototype, which he developed in America and termed the Electrical Bed,⁵⁴ the accumulated charge was conveyed from an adjacent room “by metal rods inclosed in glass tubes” to the metal bedstead, which was itself insulated by being “raised on strong glass pillars.”⁵⁵ It seems that “Dr. Graham thought that the effect of static electricity to make hair stand on end proved that it had the power to make any part of the body erect. He claimed that fluids would spurt more vigorously from charged bodies.”⁵⁶ Indeed, he saw in the ordinary mechanics of copulation the “the necessary friction or excitation of the electrical tube or cylinder, for mustering up and accumulating the prolific fiery fluid in the Prime Conductor”⁵⁷ which – by vigorous reciprocal motion within the “*soft, firm pressure of a tight-new virgin elastic cushion, well amalgamated*”⁵⁸ – would culminate (like the arc of lightning that eventually explodes from the Van de Graaff globe) in the “final discharge or delivery of this electrical fluid – of this balmy benevolence!” into the lucky gal.⁵⁹ Being electrical in nature, the man’s ejaculation was so greatly enhanced by the high-voltage environment of the Electrical Bed that orgasm was no longer momentary; Dr. G.’s test studs “talked not as other men might have done, of the happy minute, or of the critical moment, – no! – they talked comparatively of the critical HOUR!!!”⁶⁰ The modern Mile High Club looks tame in comparison to the good doctor’s 100,000 Volts Club.

Once established in London, it would have been but a small step for Dr. Graham to convert one of his “electrical thrones” at the Apollo into an Electrical Bed, and this he duly did. It seems to have met with commercial success, because he had a deluxe model

– the infamous Celestial Bed – installed in the Temple of Hymen on Pall Mall.⁶¹ Dr. Graham then lost no time in promoting it to couples with refractory cases of infertility.⁶²

Should pregnancy at any time not happily ensue, I have a most astonishing method, to recommend, which will infallibly produce a genail [genial] and happy issue; I mean my celestial or magneto electrical bed, which is the first and only one that ever was in the world; it is placed in a spacious room to the right of my orchestra, which produce the celestial fire and vivifying influence; this brilliant celestial bed is supported by six massy glass pillars with Saxon blue and purple sattin perfumed with Arabian spices, in the style of those in the seraglio of the Grand Turk.

His orchestra seems to have been a real one, rather than a euphemism for the electrical apparatus, since other advertisements specify that music was included.⁶³

Any gentleman and his lady desirous of progeny, and would wish to spend an evening in this celestial apartment, after c——n [copulation], may, by a compliment of a £50 bank note, be permitted to partake of the heavenly joys it affords by causing immediate conception: accompanied with soft music; the superior pleasure and extasy which the parties enjoy in the celestial bed is really astonishing, and never before thought of in the world: the barren certainly must become fruitful, when they are powerfully agitated in the delights of love.

The cost of the night was enormous: US \$9000 in today's money,⁶⁴ quite enough to pay for a chamber orchestra. But perhaps musicians were redundant; cavorting on the bedframe seems somehow to have fed air into the organ pipes that served as pillars to the Bedchamber, so that the music swelled and “increased in vigour with guests' passion.”⁶⁵

Perhaps the unique experience of the Celestial Bedchamber (Fig. 14.5) was worth the great outlay of cash. The following description has been compiled from recent accounts of the installation.⁶⁶ At its zenith,⁶⁷ the Bed was huge – 3.5 m (12 ft) long by 3 m (9 ft) wide – and, despite being supported by 40 insulating glass pillars, could be tilted to whatever angle was deemed most auspicious for conception (or most fun for the man).⁶⁸ It was powered by an electrostatic generator weighing almost three-quarters of a tonne,⁶⁹ and sprung (maglev fashion) by 680 kgs (1500 lbs) of fixed magnets.⁷⁰ The static electricity caused a corona discharge across the headboard which was visible as a green glow around projections and edges, a sort of miniature *aurora borealis* whose flux was believed to energise the Bed's occupants.⁷¹ The headboard bore the inscription “Be fruitful. Multiply and Replenish the Earth,” and two live turtle-doves sat at its apex, surrounded by flowers.⁷² The entire Bed was covered by a celestial dome which was surmounted by statues of Psyche, Cupid, and Hymen.⁷³ The atmosphere within the dome contained a plethora of exotic scents and spices and aromas, and possibly something more – oxygen, ether (an intoxicant like chloroform) and/or nitrous oxide (the dentist's laughing gas) may also have been pumped in to heighten the sense of ecstatic abandon.⁷⁴ (Oxygen and ether would present an explosive fire risk in a room sizzling with electrical sparks, so the smart money would be on the non-flammable nitrous oxide.) There were complex automata, as well as “columns made of colored glass, mirrors, erotic paintings,

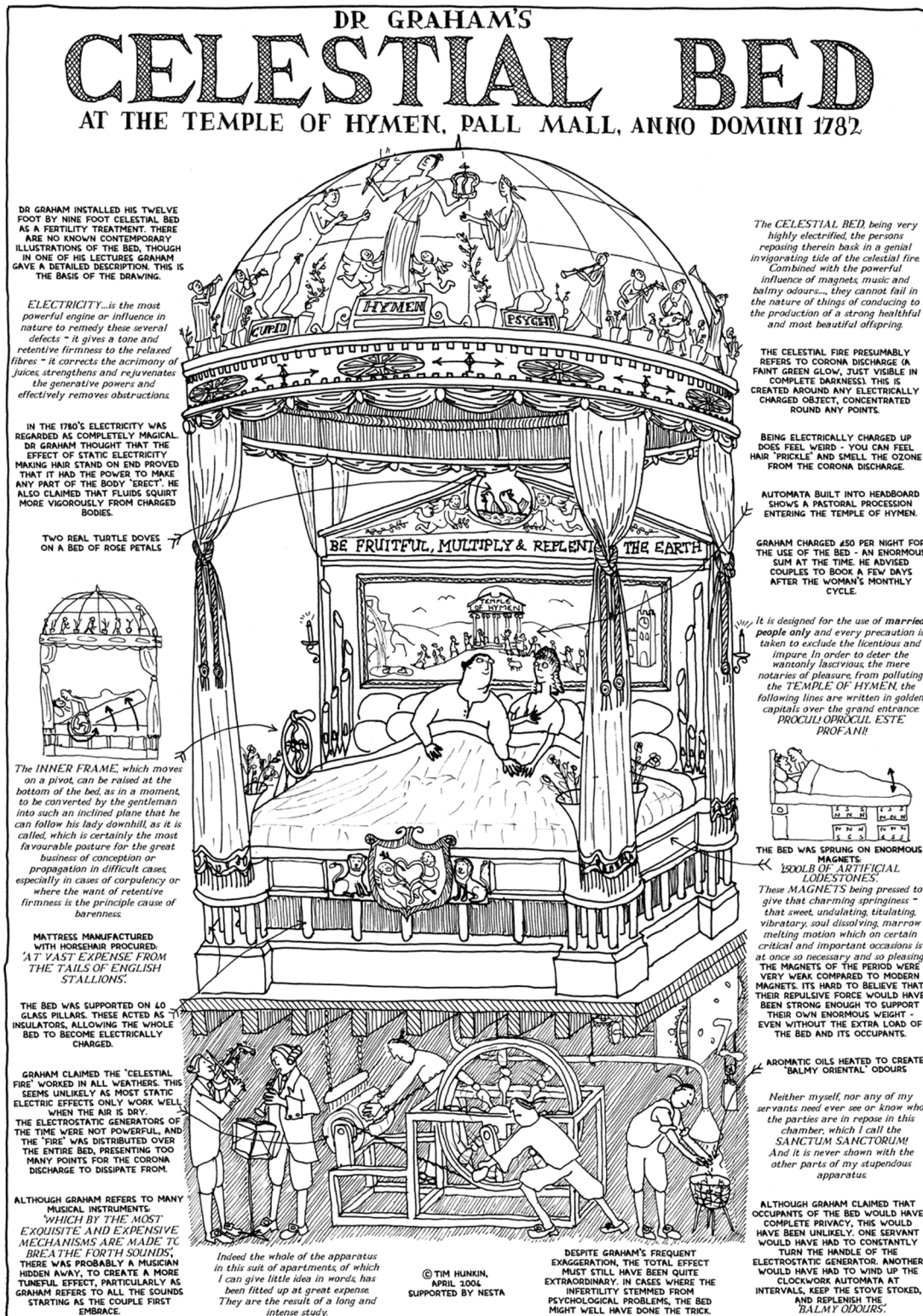


Fig. 14.5 The Celestial Bed. Cartoon © Tim Hunkin, reproduced here by kind permission.⁷⁵

organ music, and even flashing lights,”⁷⁶ with one large mirror reportedly suspended directly above the Bed.⁷⁷ Naturally, such a kinky installation attracted entirely the wrong sort of client. To ensure propriety, Dr. Graham insisted that the Bed be available only to married couples.⁷⁸ Indeed, we are told that “every precaution [wa]s taken to exclude the licentious and impure,” although the deterrence seemingly did not amount to more than mounting a short prohibition in Greek and Latin over the entrance to the Temple.⁷⁹

The Celestial Bed appears to take its name from a phrase in Shakespeare’s *Hamlet* (Act I Scene 5):

So lust, though to a radiant angel linked,
Will sate itself in a celestial bed
And prey on garbage.

In turn, Dr. Graham’s contraption spawned much satirical verse, including a mention by Wordsworth in his *Imitation of Juvenal*.⁸⁰ Here is one example, extracted from an extravaganza that was performed twenty-two times at the Theatre Royal in Haymarket:⁸¹

To’t Luxury, Pall-mall! The Dead
Entranc’d in a Celestial Bed,
Revive, and rear again the head,
 So pow’rful is the Doctor!
Old Age again its sports begins,
Old Dames renew their antient sins,
And at a Hundred bring forth Twins,
 So pow’rful is the Doctor!

Similarly, an anonymous 34-page poem, titled *The Celestial Beds*, pokes fun at the riot that resulted when:⁸²

The splendid Quack’s electric fire
Fail’d to provoke a new desire.

Beyond being a ready target for bawdy comedy and lewd cartoons (Fig. 14.6), it seems that Dr. Graham also had more serious critics and detractors in his day.⁸³ In private correspondence, Horace Walpole labelled Graham a “mountebank” and his spectacle an “impudent puppet-show of imposition.”⁸⁴ In one pamphlet, Dr. Graham railed against “the envy, jealous and mean artifices [and] the illiberal, false, and wicked representations, insinuations, and libels of theatrical buffoons or of rascally avaricious editors of news papers.”⁸⁵



Fig. 14.6 The Quacks. James Graham and Gustavus Katerfelto battling each other, surrounded by objects symbolising their respective practices. Etching published by W. Humphrey, the Strand, 1783. Wellcome Collection, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY 4.0.⁸⁶

Despite his ability to fill an auditorium (Fig. 14.4 & 14.7), and despite his alleged medical successes and high fees, the good doctor was soon forced to amalgamate his two temples into one (The Temple of Health and Hymen, on Pall Mall) and was bankrupt by 1783.⁸⁷ Later that year he was prosecuted in Edinburgh on grounds of indecency, and spent time in prison.⁸⁸ He lost his London premises and most of its equipment in 1784.⁸⁹ By 1786, though, he had made a comeback, this time as a proponent of “earth-bathing” in which patients were buried up to their necks in the ground.⁹⁰ Before commencing his lectures on this topic he would take his place in an on-stage earth bath, undressing progressively as his assistants filled the container with soil; only when its level had reached his neck would he begin his address.⁹¹ By 1788 he had renounced electrical therapies and become very religious,⁹² setting up his own True or New Jerusalem Church.⁹³ From 1792, he began to experiment with extended fasting regimes;⁹⁴ at the start of 1794, he ingested nothing (other than cold water) for two weeks, relying for sustenance solely upon topical applications of earth and of his Nervous Ætherial Balsam.⁹⁵ In its commentary on the latter portion of Dr. Graham’s life, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* records laconically that “At Edinburgh he was for some time confined in his own house as a lunatic.”⁹⁶

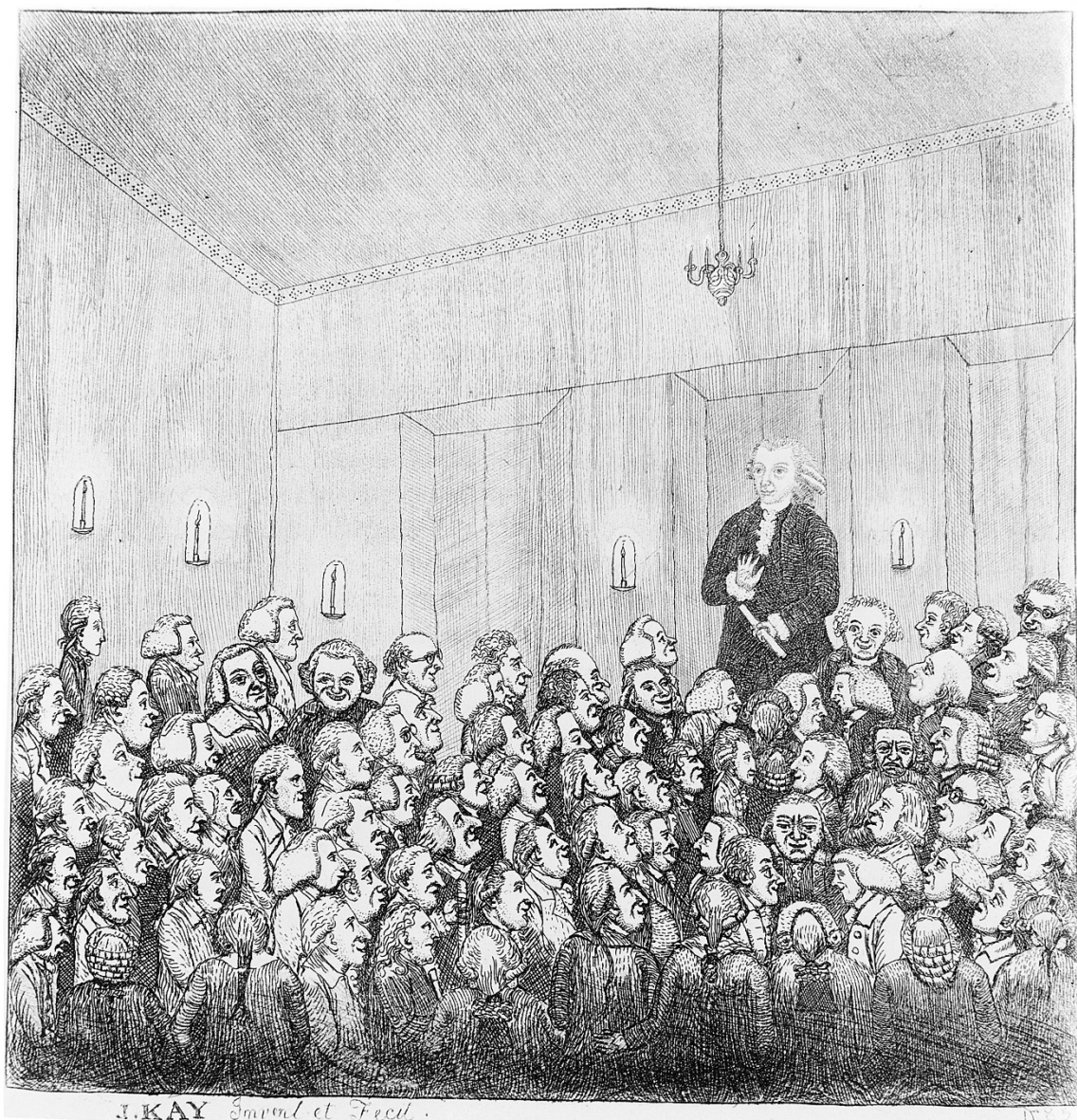


Fig. 14.7 Portrait of James Graham delivering a lecture. Etching by John Kay. Wellcome Collection, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY 4.0.⁹⁷

Although he had predicted in writing that he would live in perfect health until at least 150 years old,⁹⁸ Dr. James Graham actually died in Edinburgh in 1794 at the age of 49.⁹⁹ The *Dictionary* eulogizes him thus: “Though often treated by historians as a mere charlatan, in truth Graham was an enthusiast whose views, albeit carried to extremes, were actually highly typical of his age.”¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere he is summarised as “A giddy mix of charlatan and serious innovator; cheat and radical feminist; pragmatic clear thinker and complex self-aggrandiser; commercial disaster and ideological free-thinker,” a “kaleidoscopic figure” held together only by “his flamboyant showmanship.”¹⁰¹

Long relegated to the fringe of the Enlightenment, Dr. Graham fell into obscurity, but his antics are not completely forgotten in modern times. For example, his Pall Mall institution provided the title for Jacqui Lofthouse's 1995 novel, *The Temple of Hymen*;¹⁰² it also supplies half of the sub-title for *House GRAHAM*, the book currently before your eyes. The fictional protagonist in Lofthouse's tale – Emilia Beaumont, the model posing as the good doctor's Goddess of Youth and Health – seems to owe something to Amy Lyon/Emma Hart (Fig. 14.3),¹⁰³ whose real-life rags-to-riches story was also quite remarkable.¹⁰⁴ In 2008, Dr. Graham's memory was revived in earnest by the publication of Lydia Syson's "canny and erudite" biography,¹⁰⁵ *Doctor of Love – James Graham and his Celestial Bed*.¹⁰⁶ A reviewer for *The Lancet* hailed it as a "fabulous romp of a book," and predicted that it was bound to inspire a television adaptation of the good doctor's life.¹⁰⁷

Somewhat astonishingly, the Celestial Bed itself – billed as "London's most notorious bed" – was recreated by Sam Bompas and Harry Parr (of Bompas & Parr)¹⁰⁸ at the Museum of London for Valentine's Day 2011. Here is how the installation was advertised:¹⁰⁹

The bed will be installed alongside the Lord Mayor's Coach and will be pyramidal in form. Visitors to the museum will be able to use the electrically charged bed to celebrate their love. They will also be able to sample one of Bompas & Parr's love philters containing the world's only known aphrodisiac phenylethylamine in conjunction with yohimbe bark. Illustrator Emma Rios is designing the external form while a site specific soundscape by composer Dom James will provide background music. Visitors with heart conditions will not be permitted to use the installation.

The cost charged to use the Bed in 2011 remains unclear, but hopefully it was less prohibitive than Dr. Graham's fee had been to would-be patrons in 1782.

Sylvester Graham and the Graham cracker

Sylvester Graham was born in Connecticut in 1794, the seventeenth child of a 72-year old clergyman.¹¹⁰ His youth was fraught with displacements and illness.¹¹¹ He married in 1824, and by 1829 had become a Presbyterian minister (Fig. 14.8).¹¹² In the following year, his opposition to alcoholic drink saw him become an agent of the Pennsylvania Temperance Society. Extending his concept of temperance from drink to food, he went on to advocate vegetarianism and the consumption of wholemeal bread.¹¹³ Sylvester believed that eating meat inflamed animal desires,¹¹⁴ while spices, seasoning, coffee, sugar, tea, and wine – foodstuffs both exotic and foreign – were stepping-stones to sexual depravity.¹¹⁵ Equally, he believed that sexual excess invariably led to disease.

As one commentator observes of the movement founded by Sylvester (Fig. 14.9), "The spirit of the Grahamites, like that of many reformers of their day, was that of a sublimated puritanism."¹¹⁶ Sylvester certainly viewed physical pleasure – and especially sexual stimulation – with suspicion, seeing arousal as an irritant that could easily overwhelm the nervous system and thereby cause "debility," a state which invited disease.¹¹⁷ Sylvester pursued his crusade against drink, gluttony and lechery as assiduously as the abolitionists of his time pursued their campaign against slavery;¹¹⁸ his

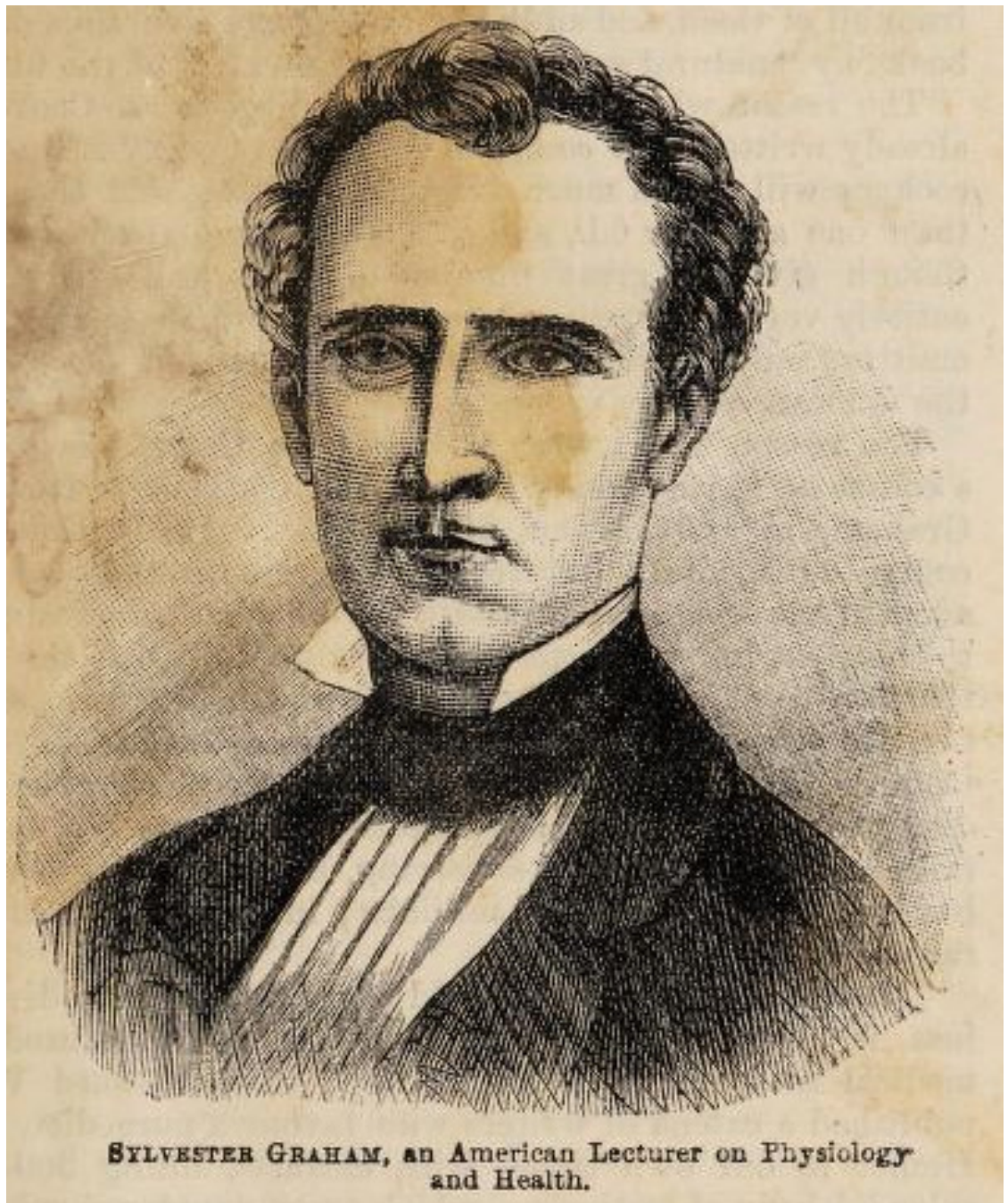


Fig. 14.8 Engraving (1883) showing Sylvester Graham as a young man.¹¹⁹

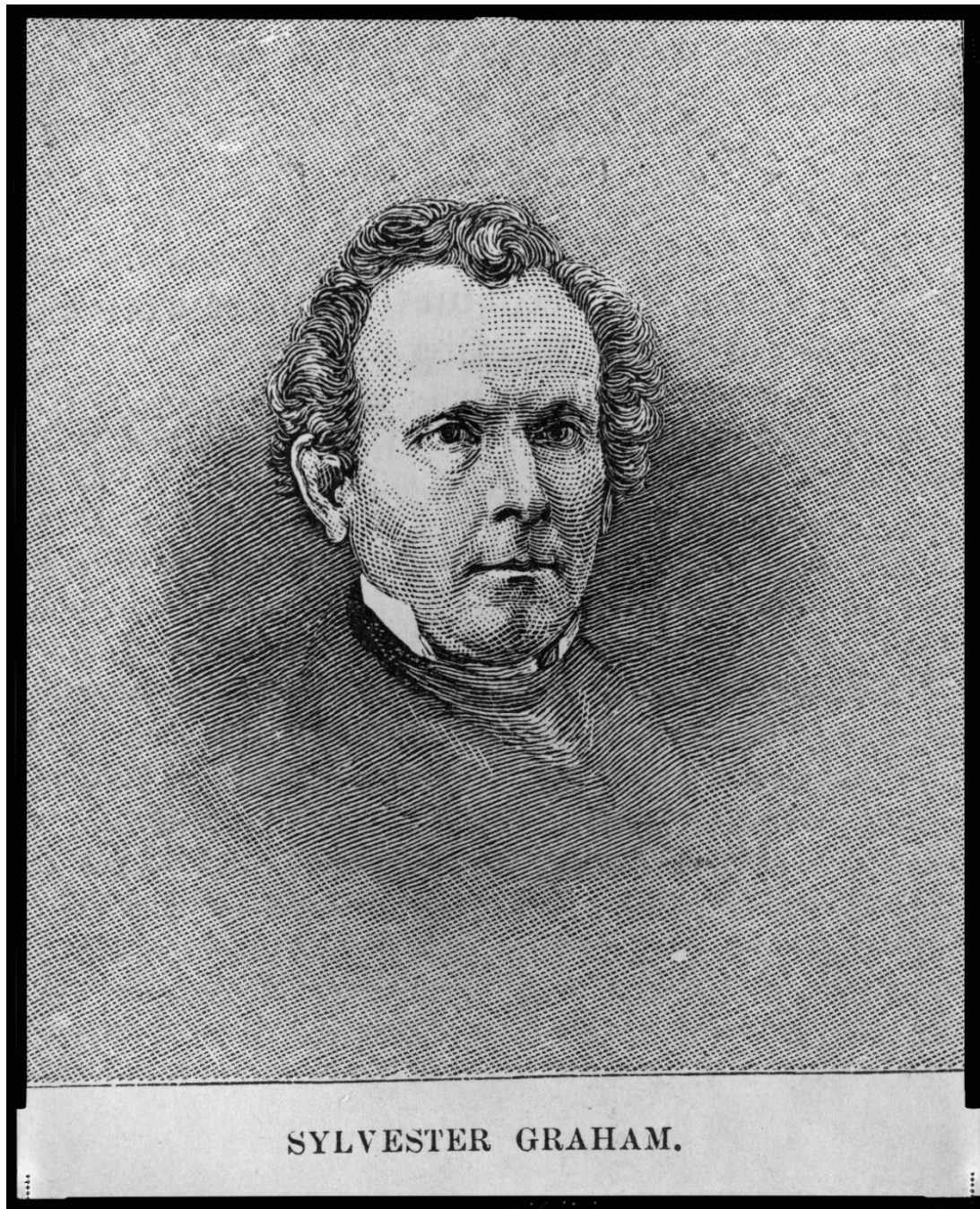


Fig. 14.9 Engraving (1880) showing Sylvester Graham – “the prophet of bran bread and pumpkins”¹²⁰ – in later life.¹²¹

famous *Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* was first published in 1834, one year after the young Abraham Lincoln had lodged with Mentor Graham in New Salem (Chapter 13). Many decades after Sylvester’s heyday, Grahamite thought persisted in the writings of Louisa May Alcott, an author best known for her 1868/9 novel *Little Women*.¹²²

In the aforementioned *Lecture to Young Men*,¹²³ which was published in Boston (Fig. 14.10), Sylvester lays down his warnings in no uncertain terms:

All kinds of stimulating and heating substances, high-seasoned food, rich dishes, the free use of flesh, and even the excess of aliment, all, more or less – and some to a very great degree – increase the concupiscent excitability and sensibility of the genital organs.¹²⁴

The convulsive paroxysms attending venereal indulgence, are connected with the most intense excitement, and cause the most powerful agitation to the whole system, that it is ever subject to. The brain, stomach, heart, lungs, liver, skin, and the other organs, feel it sweeping over them, with the tremendous violence of a tornado. The powerfully excited and convulsed heart drives the blood, in fearful congestion, to the principal viscera, – producing oppression, irritation, debility, rupture, inflammation, and sometimes disorganization; – and this violent paroxysm is generally succeeded by great exhaustion, relaxation, lassitude and even prostration.

These excesses, too frequently repeated, cannot fail to produce the most terrible effects. The nervous system, even to its most minute filamentary extremities, is tortured into a shocking state of debility, and excessive irritability, and uncontrollable mobility, and aching sensibility; and the vital contractility of the muscular tissues throughout the whole system becomes exceedingly impaired, and the muscles, generally, become relaxed and flaccid; and consequently, all the organs and vessels of the body, even to the smallest capillaries, become extremely debilitated; and their functional powers exceedingly feeble.¹²⁵

But we are perfectly certain, that the peculiar *excitement* of venereal indulgence, is more diffusive, universal and powerful, than any other to which the system is ever subject; and that it more rapidly exhausts the vital properties of the tissues, and impairs the functional powers of the organs: and consequently that it, in a greater degree than any other cause, deteriorates all the vital processes of nutrition, from beginning to end; and therefore, more injuriously affects the character and condition of all the fluids and solids of the body; – and hence the terrible fact, that venereal excesses occasion the most loathsome, and horrible, and calamitous diseases that human nature is capable of suffering.¹²⁶

Many of the most terrible plagues which have swept over the earth, and threatened to depopulate it, have been connected with such excesses!¹²⁷

Of all the possible modes of sexual depravity, masturbation “is incomparably the worst form of venereal indulgence” because both the arousal and resulting release tend to be “excessively severe and violent,” and because the habit usually starts at an early age when the constitution is least able to cope with such shocks.¹²⁸ The repeat offender will reach a state in which “the violent convulsive paroxysms attending the acme of venereal indulgence, often cause spasms in the heart, arresting entirely its function, and sometimes producing aneurisms, or bursting of its walls, and suffering the blood to gush out into the pericardium; and causing sudden death, in the unclean act.”¹²⁹ And if you aren’t snuffed out *in flagrante delicto* by a heart attack, then you should be prepared for “hemorrhage of the lungs and gushing of blood from the mouth and nostrils”

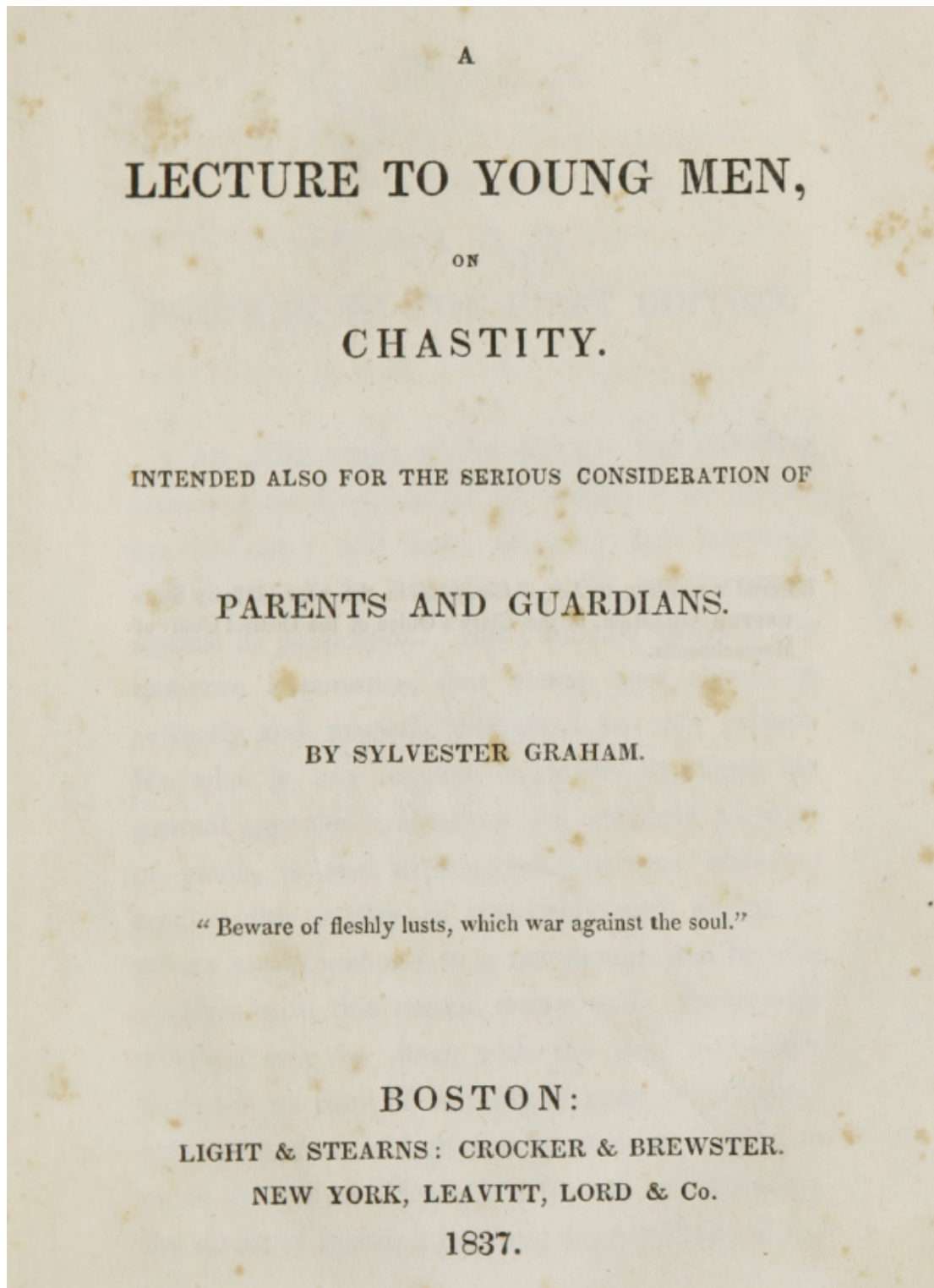


Fig. 14.10 Title page of Sylvester's *Lecture to Young Men on Chastity*; 2nd edition.¹³⁰

and “sudden death [...] by a species of pulmonary apoplexy.”¹³¹ Failing that, you may expect a lingering death from tuberculosis, for “in thousands of instances, where no such predisposition exists, the consumption is induced and rendered fatal, by venereal excesses, and especially in the form of self-pollution.”¹³² Disease and failure of all the other organs are also guaranteed consequences of autoeroticism.¹³³ Dental health, too, must suffer if you play with yourself, for “The teeth decay and become black and loose, and in some instances drop out of the jaws, while the transgressor is yet in the beginning of life.”¹³⁴ Nor should any of these grave warnings be thought to apply only to men; as Sylvester points out in his preface to the *Lecture*’s 2nd edition (1837; Fig. 14.10), “every mother ought to know that if, by any possible means, her daughters should become so depraved as to practice self-pollution, all that is said in the following lecture concerning the dreadful effects of that vice on males, is strictly true of females.”¹³⁵

As if all this wasn’t bad enough, it seems that nobody is safe; one need do nothing more than *think* about sex to put one’s life on the line:¹³⁶

And hence, those LASCIVIOUS DAY-DREAMS, and *amorous reveries*, in which young people too generally [...] are exceedingly apt to indulge, are often the sources of general debility, effeminacy, disordered functions, and permanent disease, and even premature death, without the actual exercise of the genital organs! Indeed, this unchastity of thought – this adultery of the mind – is the beginning of immeasurable evil to the human family.

However, in the event that you’re a married man eating a bland diet, habituation and boredom mean that you need have no fear that your orgasm will involve “convulsive paroxysms [...] violent and hazardous to life.”¹³⁷ Since a husband and wife “become accustomed to each other’s body, [...] their parts no longer excite an impure imagination [, ...] and when the dietetic, and other habits are such as they should be, [...] intercourse is very seldom.”¹³⁸ On the delicate question of “How often is acceptable?” Sylvester recommends a frequency of once per month or less; at most, once per week might be sustainable for those of healthy and robust constitutions.¹³⁹ However, Sylvester reluctantly admits that not all married couples succumb to the desired level of sexual *ennui*: “Beyond all question, an immeasurable amount of evil results to the human family from sexual excess within the precincts of wedlock.” Indeed, he can list a full page of debilitating illnesses caused by over-frequent spousal relations, including “impaired vision, loss of sight, weakness of the lungs, nervous cough, pulmonary consumption, disorders of the liver and kidneys, [...] spinal diseases, weakness of the brain, loss of memory, epilepsy, insanity, apoplexy,” not to mention abortions and non-viable offspring.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, the detrimental effects of lust on the parents’ health are somehow communicated genetically to whatever offspring manage to survive.¹⁴¹ Besides being puny and sickly, the children are, in addition, doomed to inherit their parents’ wantonness, since “lechery is, at least, as hereditary as insanity, consumption, gout, etc.”¹⁴²

Sylvester was born in the same year that saw the death of Dr. James Graham, the London sex-therapist whose life forms the basis of the previous section. The anti-pleasure Sylvester was in many respects the opposite of the libidinous James; no doubt the former

would have been aghast at the hour-long electro-ejaculations promised by the latter's Celestial Bed. Yet, despite their obvious differences, the two Grahams shared some surprising similarities. Both men were at some stage highly religious – Sylvester initially a Presbyterian minister,¹⁴³ James (raised in the same sect) later the founder of a “universal church” of his own devising.¹⁴⁴ Aspects of both men's zeal were opposed by their wives.¹⁴⁵ Neither held a medical degree, yet both were likely to be called “Dr. Graham.”¹⁴⁶ Both were gifted orators with high self-esteem who went on to be dismissed as charlatans by the medical establishment.¹⁴⁷ Both men lectured on the importance of fresh air, physical exercise, hard beds, bodily hygiene and cold-water ablutions;¹⁴⁸ both cautioned against the toxic medical treatments that were mainstream in their day;¹⁴⁹ both were appalled and horrified by the concept of masturbation;¹⁵⁰ and both realised that diet had a strong influence on health. Indeed, both were extremists who shared a common preoccupation with “venereal acts,” as they called them; when a writer for the *New York Post* wrote recently that “Graham stayed fixated on sex,”¹⁵¹ she was talking about Sylvester the prude, not James the stud.

On the topic of diet, Dr. James Graham had long recommended a diet of “fresh green raw sallads, – succulent vegetables, – ripe saccharine fruits; – and of the mild farinaceous grains;¹⁵² drinking daily pure cold soft water, or rich balmy milk”¹⁵³ and warned of the dangers of “Wine, and all strong liquors [...] if drank daily even in moderation,”¹⁵⁴ advice with which Sylvester would no doubt have agreed. Dr. Graham advised against eating meat but (reluctantly) tolerated it in others so long as the meat was “quickly, openly and moderately dressed;”¹⁵⁵ similarly, Sylvester allowed “those who *will* indulge in animal food [...] a small portion of good lean flesh, simply prepared, once a day.”¹⁵⁶ In many ways, James' dietary philosophy – which recommended such foods “as don't heat the body” and promoted the virtues of “farinaceous grains and feeds of every kind, such as wheat flour, oatmeal, barley, rye, rice, sagoe, etc.”¹⁵⁷ – anticipated that of Sylvester. Both men railed against the dangers of tea, coffee, tobacco, snuff, meat and the adulterated bread of public bakers.¹⁵⁸ James took to fasting in later life; Sylvester was a life-long champion of small portions and infrequent meals.¹⁵⁹

From as early as 1832, Sylvester was adamant that the primary cause of cholera epidemics was not “some pestilential essence, or some living substance” (such as what we now call the *Vibrio cholerae* bacterium) but in fact a pleasure-oriented lifestyle, with its spicy food, “excesses of filthy sensuality, and the use of artificial stimulants, and especially of the narcotic and alcoholic kinds.”¹⁶⁰ Reciprocally, he saw the convulsive vomiting and diarrhoea of cholera as a form of orgasm.¹⁶¹ Sylvester's ideas as a whole were seen as extreme by most of his lay and medically trained contemporaries.¹⁶² In 1837, Sylvester co-founded the American Physiological Society in order to promote Grahamism.¹⁶³ The American Physiological Society of 1837 was short-lived; it was in no way related to the organisation of the same name founded in 1887, which is a professional body and scientific association that today represents almost 10,000 members with interests and qualifications in the life sciences.¹⁶⁴ Another Grahamite instrument – the *Graham Journal of Health and Longevity* – ran from 1837-1839 and was popular with patrons of the “Graham boarding-houses” operated by Sylvester's adherents.¹⁶⁵

As mentioned briefly above, Sylvester advocated the consumption of home-made wholemeal bread, a stance outlined in his *Lecture to Young Men on Chastity*¹⁶⁶ and developed in his 1837 *Treatise on Bread and Bread Making*.¹⁶⁷ Specifically, “Graham became famous for the theory that a bread-centered diet would cure what he saw as an epidemic of masturbation among antebellum youth.”¹⁶⁸ In Sylvester’s philosophy, wholemeal wheat bread was elevated to the status of a religious and political icon,¹⁶⁹ and – as a central part of the imperial program of the United States – “eating becomes a performative act of national identification.”¹⁷⁰ This bread was to be prepared by the wives and mothers of the nation, whose only legitimate sphere of action – in Sylvester’s view – was in the the home.¹⁷¹

Sylvester’s spartan “regimen” of small meals consisting of simple, plain, vegetarian food (including, of course, bread) was placed in the context of a global understanding of human anatomy, physiology, morality and diet in his *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*, which was first published in Boston in 1839 as two volumes with over 1200 pages.¹⁷² Perhaps surprisingly, there is essentially no mention of sexual matters in Sylvester’s *magnum opus*; gluttony has replaced lust as the gateway to personal ruin.¹⁷³ A condensed “People’s Edition” published in London in 1849 still contained almost 300 pages of very small print (Fig. 14.11).¹⁷⁴ Sylvester Graham died in 1851.¹⁷⁵ Later British editions of his *Lectures on the Science of Human Life* (there were several, the fourth being published at Manchester in 1887) included a short biographical memoir of the author.¹⁷⁶

Graham flour – which, like the other so-called Graham products, reflected Sylvester’s teaching but which he did not make, sell or profit from¹⁷⁷ – consisted of unbleached wheat flour, wheat bran and coarsely ground germ. It could be used to bake products other than Graham bread.¹⁷⁸ In particular, it was used to make “a snack that reflected his values: a brittle, flavorless, whole-wheat biscuit [...] that could help suppress sexual desire, particularly in adolescent boys.”¹⁷⁹ In its original and authentic form, the Graham cracker was decidedly unpalatable, being unsweetened and tough to chew.¹⁸⁰ The cookie-like version that is popular today evolved only after the National Biscuit Company (later Nabisco) bought the brand in the 1890s (Fig. 14.12); containing sugar and cinnamon, the mass-produced cracker departed substantially from Sylvester’s original vision.¹⁸¹ The widespread American use of the modern Graham cracker (Fig. 14.13) to make “s’mores” – campfire treats in which the crackers are loaded with marshmallow and chocolate (Fig. 14.14)¹⁸² – no doubt has Sylvester turning in his grave at several hundred revolutions per minute.¹⁸³

Sylvester’s life and legacy are addressed in many scholarly publications. He features in the sub-title of Stephen Nissenbaum’s 1980 monograph, *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America – Sylvester Graham and Health Reform*,¹⁸⁴ and likewise in that of Jayme Sokolow’s 1983 book, *Eros and Modernization – Sylvester Graham, Health Reform, and the Origins of Victorian Sexuality in America*.¹⁸⁵ For Sokolow, “Graham’s

and always renders that secretion somewhat more exciting and febrile in its tendency.

1296. The best milk, therefore, can only be procured from perfectly healthy cows which, during the season of grazing, run at large in the open field and crop their food from a pure soil, and during the winter are fed on good hay, and if housed at all, kept in clean and well-ventilated stables, and every day thoroughly curried and cleaned, and supplied with pure water for drink, and suffered to take regular exercise in the open air (1286).

1297. The cream of milk, though capable of being converted into butter, yet, when recent and sweet, is perfectly soluble in water, and mixes freely with the fluids of the mouth and stomach; and therefore, if it is free from any deleterious properties (1294—1296), it is very far less objectionable than butter as an article of diet. It may be used instead of butter in a variety of ways, as I shall point out hereafter, and without any sacrifice of gustatory enjoyment, but with decided benefit to health; that is, if one or the other must be used. Nevertheless, as a general rule, the physiological interests of our bodies are better served without the use of either. The butter spoken of in the Scriptures, in connexion with honey, etc., as an agreeable article of food, was probably rich sweet cream.

1298. Eggs are somewhat more highly animalized than milk, and perhaps rather more exciting to the system. Yet when fresh and good, if taken raw or very slightly cooked by boiling or otherwise, without the use of fat or oily matter, they are not difficult of digestion, and are quite nourishing. But when they are so much cooked as to become hard or solid, they require a vigorous stomach to digest them without oppression. All that I have said concerning milk, and those by whom it may be used as food (1290, 1293), I consider strictly applicable to eggs; but care should always be taken that they are not too old, and that their vitality is not in any measure impaired.

1299. In closing my remarks on this general topic, I deem it proper to repeat what I have said (858, 859), that animal food of every kind, and particularly flesh meat, when freely used, so affects the physiological powers of the digestive organs, that they cannot chymify vegetable substances with the same ease and comfort that they can when accustomed only to vegetable food. Hence, many kinds of fruits and vegetables which a flesh-eater cannot partake of without more or less inconvenience, and which in certain seasons of the year and during the prevalence of epidemics are sure to make him sick, may be freely eaten with perfect comfort and safety by those who subsist wholly on vegetable food.

1300. The conclusion of the whole matter then, concerning animal food, is briefly this; as a general and permanent rule for the human species, in all situations, conditions, and circumstances, where man can have his choice of aliment, it is best that every one should wholly abstain from flesh-meat; but if any will eat it for the gratification of depraved appetite, it should only be those who are healthy and vigorous and active, and much in the open air. And they should never allow themselves to indulge in the use of it more than once a-day, and then in great moderation, and only prepared in the simple manner which I have described (1279). All other kinds of food pertaining to the animal kingdom should, as a general rule, be avoided by the diseased and the feeble and delicate (1252, Note). In short, I am convinced that as a general and permanent rule, the whole human family would do best, after a certain period in very early life, to subsist entirely on the products of the vegetable kingdom and pure water.

1301. In regard to the use of salt and other seasonings in preparing the different kinds of animal and

vegetable substances for human aliment, I shall speak fully in a subsequent lecture.

LECTURE XXI.

What shall we eat!—The abundant supplies of the vegetable kingdom, and resources of the earth.—General physiological laws in regard to preparing food, and the use of artificial means as aids to the vital powers.—All artificial preparations of food, in themselves considered, are evil.—General principles which should govern the artificial preparation of food in relation to mastication, insalivation, deglutition, temperature, concentration, combination, quantity, etc.—Practical application of these principles.—Primitive simplicity of food and manner of preparing it.—The history of bread, and the kinds used by different portions of the human family.—Bread the staff of life.—What the best material for loaf bread.—Where and how raised and best prepared.—Adulterations of bread.—Coarse bread most wholesome.—Properties of meal.—Yeast, fermentation, etc.—Mixing, kneading, and baking bread.—Use of alkalies in bread-making.—Alcohol in bread.—How to keep bread sweet.—Who should make bread.—Bread-making the highest art of cooking.—Perfect bread-making the very top of culinary skill.—Varieties of bread.—Other less simple preparations from farinaceous substances.—Cakes, etc.—Sweets and acids.—All fats should be avoided.—Cream and milk how used, if at all.—Puddings, pies, etc.—Other vegetables, fruits, etc., how prepared and used.—General conclusions in regard to the kinds, conditioes, qualities, quantities, and preparations of the food of man.

1302. THOSE who have accompanied me thus far along my course, are by this time perhaps disposed to cry out, with the multitudes who only know what they have learned from rumor concerning my opinions, What will you leave us to subsist on? What shall we eat when all our customary food is taken away?—when flesh and every thing pertaining to the animal kingdom is denied us?

1303. And has it come to this? Is it indeed true that man is under the necessity of making his body a sepulchre for dead carcasses, in order to keep himself alive, and to preserve his civilization, and the elegant refinements and arts of civic life? I do confess, and deeply regret that truth compels me to acknowledge, that in many portions of the civilized world mankind have become so accustomed to depend on the products of the animal kingdom for their principal articles of diet, that they have greatly neglected to develop and foster the capabilities of their more natural and proper source of aliment, and learned to think that starvation would be the inevitable consequence of an entire abandonment of animal food.

1304. It is true that at the public tables of our steamboats and hotels, and in fact all the fashionable tables in civic life, which almost literally groan beneath the multitudinous dead that lie in state upon them, embalmed and decorated like the bodies of Egyptian potentates prepared for solemn interment, emitting their spicy odors to disguise their natural loathsomeness; it is true that, at one of these tables, loaded apparently with every luxury and savory dainty that the market can supply and culinary skill prepare, if one sits down determined to abstain from animal food and the still more pernicious preparations of vegetable substances, he may look in vain throughout the wilderness of viands before him for a single dish of plain and wholesome vegetable food, such as a wise man would willingly and freely partake of. He might order any form of aliment that the products of the animal kingdom can be tortured into, which happens not to be upon the table, and he would probably be promptly and with alacrity supplied; but if he calls for a simple dish of fruits or vegetables, his call will either be utterly neglected, or he will be answered in a surly tone.—'We have not got them, sir!'—and he may therefore either make his meal upon a crust of miserable bread, or conclude to fast entirely, and pay his dollar or half-dollar for the refined and ennobling pleasure of seeing his more carnivorous and literally omnivorous fellow creatures glut themselves, much after the same manner of the giant

Fig. 14.11 A typical page from the first "People's Edition" of Sylvester's *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*, showing the start of Lecture 21 in which he addresses the preparation and consumption of food, including bread.¹⁸⁶

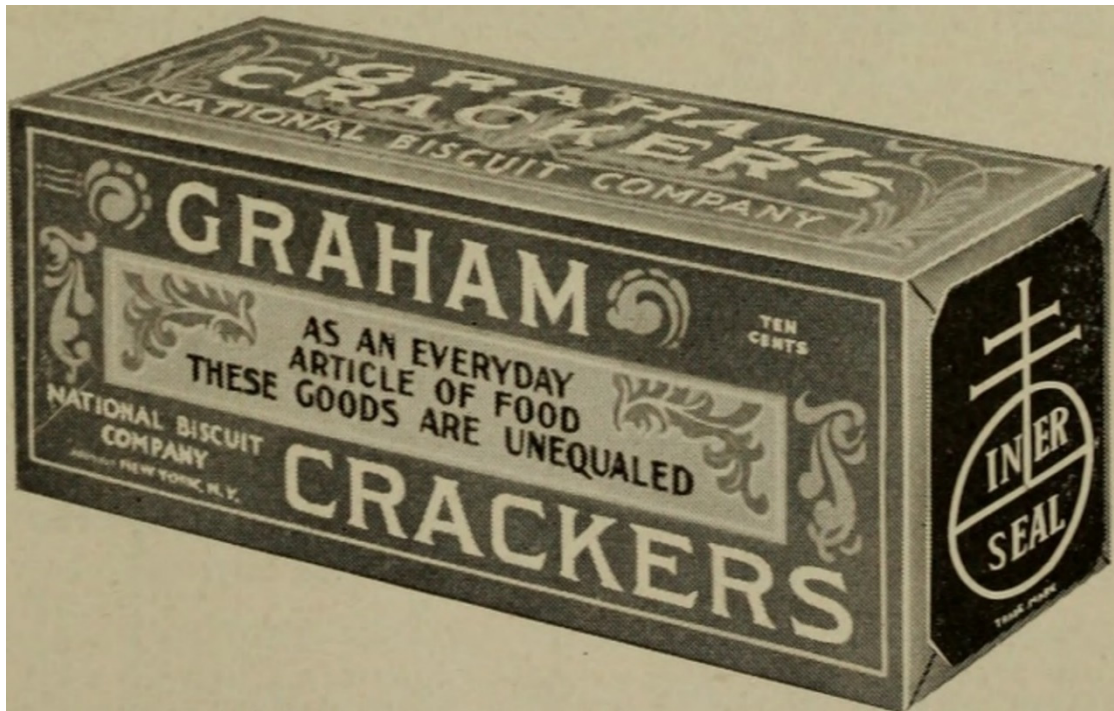


Fig. 14.12 Advertisement for commercially made Graham crackers, *ca.* 1915.¹⁸⁷

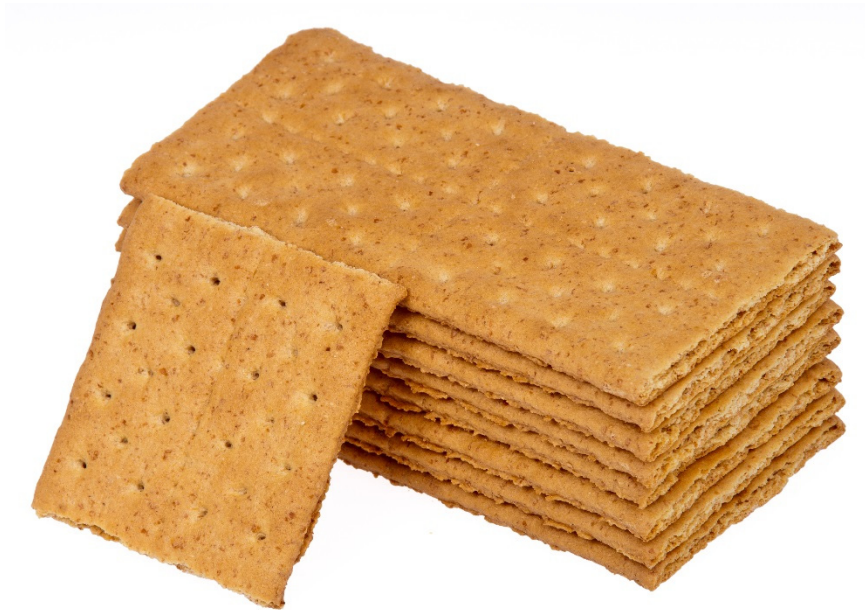


Fig. 14.13 A stack of modern Graham crackers (2010), made by Nabisco. Image by Evan-Amos.¹⁸⁸



(a)



(b)

Fig. 14.14 (a) S'mores ready for toasting. Image by Squidocto, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0¹⁸⁹ (b) Campfire-toasted s'more in a wire basket. Image by Jonathunder, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.¹⁹⁰

dual obsessions with food and sex were complementary; both drives represented dangers to complete self-control and independence.”¹⁹¹ Sylvester exerted immense influence on the American sexual landscape of his day. As Sokolow says, “More than any other antebellum American, Graham helped establish the rationale for Victorian sex ethics.”¹⁹² Similarly, in the earlier book, “Nissenbaum argues that Graham was, in fact, anything but a peripheral figure: more than any other man, he was responsible for initially articulating and propagating the sexual ideology and strictures that would come to dominate Victorian America.”¹⁹³ His influence in the dietary domain was equally far-reaching. Sylvester has been dubbed the “Father of Vegetarianism” in the USA,¹⁹⁴ although he should probably share that title with William Metcalfe and William Alcott.¹⁹⁵ A recent analysis observes that “Sylvester Graham and his followers articulated one of the founding dietetic reform discourses of nineteenth-century America, with the result that American meals, at least, were blander – even if no evidence has come to light that Americans masturbated less after consuming less exciting foods.”¹⁹⁶ And, as Andrew Smith notes in his history of American cuisine, “many of the culinary beliefs espoused by Graham continue to influence us today.”¹⁹⁷

Sylvester’s contribution to the understanding of infectious diseases must be seen as negative, insofar as he mistakenly attributed their cause to lascivious lifestyles and the (over)consumption of stimulants / irritants rather than to causative transmissible germs (i.e., bacteria and viruses).¹⁹⁸ In terms of food science, however, Sylvester can in some respects be seen as a pioneer: he stands vindicated in having promoted a high-fibre diet (e.g., in correctly favouring wholemeal over refined “superfine” flour); he was also prescient in recognising both overeating and high meat consumption as a potential health risks.¹⁹⁹ His ideas shaped the dietary policy of the nascent Seventh Day Adventist “Sanitarium” movement²⁰⁰ and inspired John Harvey Kellogg, the inventor of cornflakes and other breakfast cereals.²⁰¹ Equally, however, Sylvester can be seen as a dietary faddist: his insistence on the local, coarse and relatively unprocessed foods “of early times”²⁰² seems to anticipate the modern Paleo Diet,²⁰³ while the Grahamites’ obsession with wheat has been likened to today’s “gluten-free craze, in reverse.”²⁰⁴

In terms of sexual health, Sylvester’s attribution of numerous and severe ailments to “self-pollution” or “secret vice” laid the foundations for the masturbation scare that persisted long into the 20th century. He wrote persuasively, compellingly and at length on the topic, seemingly with great authority; his *Lecture to Young Men on Chastity* underwent 10 editions in 15 years and was translated into several other languages.²⁰⁵ No doubt some of the symptoms that he associated with sexual excess were based on the effects of actual venereal diseases such as gonorrhoea and syphilis,²⁰⁶ but his attribution of mental and physical collapse to impure urges and nervous overstimulation rather than to sexually transmitted infectious agents did human psychology and sexual welfare a great disservice. One can only guess at the amount of misery – anxiety, depression, and even suicide²⁰⁷ – that Sylvester’s lurid and corrosive brand of fake news caused to the youth of his time, and indeed long afterward.

Looking at Sylvester's belief system as a whole, was Grahamism an unprecedented, isolated and quickly outmoded glitch in the global history of ideas? Perhaps not. Sylvester's attempt to minimise desire and avoid sensuality, living frugally but not ascetically, has parallels in Buddhism, although this connection seems to have gone unremarked.²⁰⁸ Beyond the association of both Grahamism and Mahayana Buddhism with vegetarianism, the "desires of the disordered will" – i.e., cerebral fantasies whose drives exceed the body's needs and capabilities – constitute a shared and central source of dismay to Grahamism and to all schools of Buddhism. Both movements look inward rather than outward for their solutions.²⁰⁹ The second and third of the Four Noble Truths of Buddhism state that the cause of human suffering is desire (craving), and that the cessation of suffering comes with the cessation of desire.²¹⁰ Similarly, "Graham and his fellow health reformers [...] developed advice literature that counseled their young readers to 'control your appetites, subdue your passions, firmly and rigidly practice right principles, [and] form habits of purity, propriety, sobriety and diligence.'"²¹¹ The positive injunctions in this advice find Buddhist counterparts in the Noble Eightfold Path, which advocates "right understanding, right thought, right speech, right action, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness, and right concentration."²¹²

In the mid-20th century, the philosopher-theologian Alan Watts – best known as a Western interpreter of Zen Buddhism – published a remarkable little book of neo-Buddhist philosophy aimed at the English-speaking world;²¹³ *The Wisdom of Insecurity* is still in print today, and indeed is ranked by Amazon as the #1 Bestseller in Modern Philosophy.²¹⁴ In a chapter titled "The Wisdom of the Body," Watts seems to be channelling Sylvester's spirit and giving him a more modern voice. Watts writes:

Human desire tends to be insatiable. We are so anxious for pleasure that we can never get enough of it. We stimulate the sense organs until they become insensitive, so that if pleasure is to continue they must have stronger and stronger stimulants. In self-defence the body gets ill from the strain, but the brain wants to go on and on.²¹⁵

[E]ssential spaces for living [...] such as the kitchen are reduced to [...] wretched little galleys [that] provide fare which is chiefly gaseous – cocktails and "appetizers" rather than honest meals. [...] We do not soil our hands with growing and cooking real food. Instead we buy products designed for 'front' and appearance rather than content – immense and tasteless fruit, bread which is little more than a light froth, wine faked with chemicals, and vegetables flavored with the arid concoctions of test tubes.²¹⁶

Animals have sexual intercourse when they feel like it, which is usually in some sort of rhythmic pattern, but between whiles it does not interest them. But of all pleasures sex is the one which the civilized man pursues with the greatest anxiety. [...] As in eating, his 'eyes are bigger than his stomach'.²¹⁷

Anyone acquainted with Sylvester Graham's writings will see numerous points of correspondence. It is sobering to see the issues that motivated Sylvester being felt just as keenly more than a century later, and to witness them being articulated so lucidly by a highly respected 20th-century "scholar of the soul."

In Jackson-era America, the industrialisation and commodification of society was a new development that dislocated man from nature and caused Sylvester – and very many others – great anxiety. But, in truth, this existential *angst* was merely the intensification of a perennial and universal problem – the “human condition” writ large. Accordingly, Sokolow writes, “The abolition of pain, terror, anxiety, and death were the exorbitant demands made on reality by the Grahamites. As Emerson preached: ‘The height of culture, the highest behavior, consists of the identification of the ego with the universe.’”²¹⁸ Ralph Waldo Emerson was Sylvester’s contemporary, and the pair had parallel careers.²¹⁹ Sokolow’s two sentences form a fascinating juxtaposition because for Alan Watts, too, the (Buddhism-inspired) solution to all of life’s problems is to recognise that the dichotomy of “beholder” and “beheld” is an illusion.²²⁰

The real reason why human life can be so utterly exasperating and frustrating is not because there are facts called death, pain, fear, or hunger. The madness of the thing is that when such facts are present, we [... try] to get the “I” out of the experience [...], and try to protect ourselves from life by splitting in two. Sanity, wholeness, and integration lie in the realization that we are not divided, that man and his present experience are one, and that no separate “I” or mind can be found.

Or, reverting to Emerson’s terms, the ego and the universe constitute a unity, a single process; since the former is necessarily identified with the latter and *vice versa*, they can never be separated.

From the foregoing, we can see that (despite some laughably outdated aberrations on the medical front) it would be a mistake to think that the ideas of Jackson-era reformers such as Sylvester Graham and Ralph Waldo Emerson have no relevance to modern beliefs and concerns. In judicious combination, their contributions add up to something very close to the philosophy in Watts’ *Wisdom of Insecurity* – a classic that, as mentioned above, remains relevant and highly influential today.

Other eccentric Grahams

Naturally, the list of eccentric Grahams in modern times is far from exhausted by the James and Sylvester of the previous two sections. We should not overlook “the Colonial Surgeon, Mr. Graham of Sierra Leone” who became known for his collection of mermaids.²²¹ Several 1921 news reports associate him with the famous Bloomsbury Mermaid, whose “figure, wizened dry like a mummy, is about 16 inches long, with a female form from the waist up, and below an excellent fish tail. The baby skull is grinning grotesquely, disclosing twenty-five tiny teeth.”²²² These reports claim that the mermaid’s pedestal bore the inscription “Presented by Mr. Graham, Surgeon-General at Sierra Leone.”²²³ Another mermaid – seemingly different and hitherto unknown – changed hands in London in 1935; it was described as “A strange mummified body, half human, half fish [...] The mummy has the skull and upper vertebrae of a human being; human arms and hands; the lower structure and tail of a fish, and traces of scales instead of skin.”²²⁴ As with the Bloomsbury example, we are told that “The inscription below the mermaid’s case shows that it was first the property of Dr. Graham, colonial surgeon at Sierra Leone.”²²⁵ The same William M. Graham was certainly a former owner of the

Buxton Mermaid, a 38 cm long specimen which was acquired by Sir Henry Wellcome (founder of the Wellcome Collection) in 1928 and is now in the collection of the Buxton Museum and Art Gallery, Derbyshire (Fig. 14.15).²²⁶ In 2014, a scientific report described it as follows: “The mermaid has modelled details such as ribs, fingernails, nipples, and a belly button. It also has eye-sockets, eyes, a nasal septum, teeth, and a tongue. A lot of work and imagination has gone into creating an object that might appear to be an anatomically accurate mummified mermaid.”²²⁷

In 2012, the Buxton Mermaid (Fig. 14.15) was subjected to detailed forensic investigation and conservation,²²⁸ and then placed on display with a similarly-restored merman on loan from the Horniman Museum & Gardens, London.²²⁹ Since both specimens had their British origins in the Wellcome Collection, the reunion was reported by *The Times* as a love-story in which “a mummified mermaid is about to find her happy ending when she is reunited with her merman.”²³⁰ X-rays of the Buxton Mermaid show that her upper body is built upon a wood and wire frame with a stuffing of fibrous material.²³¹ The skull is formed from hollowed wood, the hair is human, the teeth seem to be carved bone, the eyes may be mollusc shell, and the fingernails may be slithers of either bone or mother-of-pearl.²³² The torso is modelled on a human chest with wire ribs, wooden shoulders and a wooden spine, while a single bent wire runs from the shoulders to the tail, imparting the strong curvature to the lower body.²³³ The fish skin of the lower body has been stuffed with textile or paper (presumably papier-mâché, as found in the Horniman specimen).²³⁴ The research team reports that the mermaid may have been made in Japan (which has a tradition of making such creatures, known as *ningyo*) or perhaps in West Africa, where it may have been inspired by indigenous precursors of the vodun Mami Wata.²³⁵ But, tentatively, they go further. Since William M. Graham – the surgeon of Sierra Leone – is associated with at least two mermaids with upright poses (the Horniman merman being prone, like most post-1854 Japanese specimens made for export),²³⁶ the team speculates that “it may be that he constructed them himself as an exercise in anatomy. This suggestion is supported by the remarkable similarities between the internal structure of the Buxton specimen and the skeletal arrangement of a human, as revealed by the phosphor plate X-rays.” The authors conclude by calling for further research into this hypothesis.²³⁷

Our list of larger-than-life Grahams cannot afford to overlook Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham of Gartmore and Ardoch (1852-1936), who is better known as “Don Roberto” (Fig. 14.16). Born into a cadet house of Menteith,²³⁸ his first language was Spanish on account of his mother’s connection with Spain. After boarding at Harrow, Robert undertook finishing school in Brussels before moving to Argentina at age 17 or 18 to make his fortune in cattle ranching (1869/70).²³⁹ Kidnapped by *gauchos* (cowboys), he found himself in his element. His exploits as an adventurer and *gaucho* in South America earned him the “Don Roberto” nickname and a reputation as “the modern Don Quixote.”²⁴⁰ Having returned to England, in 1878 he married a woman who was supposed to be a Chilean-born poetess of Franco-Spanish parentage named Gabrielle Chideock de la Balmondière;²⁴¹ in 1986, it was discovered that in reality she was



Fig. 14.15 Photograph of the Buxton Mermaid. Image © Derbyshire County Council – Buxton Museum and Art Gallery, reproduced here by kind permission.



Fig. 14.16 Photograph of Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham, *ca.* 1890.²⁴²

Caroline Horsfall, the runaway daughter of a doctor from Yorkshire.²⁴³ In 1879 the couple moved to Texas to make their fortune by cattle-ranching. After various setbacks, Robert instead purchased cotton. He travelled with his wife by wagon train to Mexico, where he hoped to sell the cotton at a profit, but ended up losing money.²⁴⁴ Robert then opened a fencing academy in Mexico City, which fortunately did prove successful. Upon its sale, the couple returned in 1880 to the somewhat safer life offered by Texas.²⁴⁵ Robert co-founded a ranch 300 miles west of San Antonio, but lost everything to an attack by the local Indian (i.e., Native American) tribe. Robert subsequently befriended William Cody – better known as Buffalo Bill – during a trip to western Texas (1882),²⁴⁶ before his father's illness obliged him to return to Scotland in 1883.²⁴⁷ In later years,

Robert went prospecting for gold in Spain (1894).²⁴⁸ He also travelled in Morocco (1897) in an abortive attempt to reach the forbidden city of Taroudant, where no Christian had ever set foot; despite his Moorish disguise – in which he resembled a Turkish doctor or a Circassian *sherif* from Fez²⁴⁹ – he was arrested by the Kaid of Kintafi and held captive for four months in a medieval castle in the Atlas Mountains.²⁵⁰

Following his father's death in 1883, Robert Cunninghame Graham became a socialist and entered British politics.²⁵¹ A strong advocate for Scottish independence, he was a founder of the National Party of Scotland in 1928 and served as the first president of the Scottish National Party in 1934.²⁵² He was also a prolific author who counted Robert Louis Stevenson, Ford Maddox Ford, George Bernard Shaw and G.K. Chesterton among his literary friends.²⁵³ Joseph Conrad based the novel *Nostromo* on Robert's life.²⁵⁴ In language strangely reminiscent of Sylvester Graham's food prohibitions,²⁵⁵ George Isbell warns his 1946 readers that "Cunninghame Graham's books [...] will not suffice as a regular mental diet. He is to be read only when the intellectual digestive system requires highly seasoned food," for Robert's pages are soaked in blood and his lack of piety might offend delicate sensibilities. Forty years after this critique, Robert's historical study *A Vanished Arcadia* inspired the award-winning movie *The Mission*.²⁵⁶ With much justification, John Stewart of *Ardvorlich* says of Robert Cunninghame Graham that "It is given to few men to crowd so many and varied experiences, adventures, and occupations, into one lifetime. Gaucho, rider of wild horses, rancher, horse and cattle dealer, prospector, fencing master, explorer, lover of art, Socialist Member of Parliament, sometime inmate of H.M. Prison Pentonville, author, and historian – these are but a selection of his accomplishments."²⁵⁷ Hardly a nut, Robert's cracker of a life is the subject of at least 10 biographies, a five-part radio documentary (BBC Radio Scotland),²⁵⁸ and a Caledonia TV television documentary.²⁵⁹

Who else should we mention in this inventory of idiosyncratic illuminati? George W. Graham (*ca.* 1784-1860), the "disaster-prone occult balloonist," is well qualified, but he has already been dispatched in the chapter on magic and witchcraft (Chapter 6). Thomas Graham (1805-1869), the Scottish chemist – discoverer of Graham's Law of Diffusion²⁶⁰ – is of much too good repute to be considered here.²⁶¹ Lloyd M. Graham would deserve inclusion for his cock-eyed astronomical beliefs (that all planets were once suns, and that the sun will someday become a planet), had his atheist zeal not already seen him dealt with in Chapter 10. The potentially endless list of eccentric and offbeat Grahams may be brought up to date by including, as a minor addendum, the author of the book currently before you.²⁶²



The Quest for the Silver Hand

In *Or and Sable – A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, Louisa G. Graeme mentions “an old Gaelic prophecy” concerning the family. It reportedly predates the curse/blessing of the Witch of Monzie (Chapter 6), which means that she placed it before *ca.* 1720. The prophecy claims that “when ‘the Graemes find the Silver Hand,’ then shall ‘their lands return again to those who have lost them!’”¹

No other references to this cryptic prediction have come to light. Of course, it may just mean that House Graham needs to become better at acquiring money, as in “crossing your palm with silver,” and thereby grow the wealth needed to repurchase its lost lands. More speculatively, it might be taken as a pun pointing to the need for some future restoration of a missing “arm”² to the family of Or and Sable – perhaps the de Giresmes of Valois (Chapter 4), whose arms changed colour with the redoubtable Nicolas from Or and Sable to Argent and Sable.³ Presenting myself as “Louis de Giresme”⁴ should at least qualify me for a free stay at the family castle in Crépy-en-Valois (Fig. 15.1), *non?*



Fig. 15.1 Another view of the Château de Geresme (16-19th century) in the Parc de Geresme of Crépy-en-Valois,⁵ showing the opposite side of the building to that in Fig. 4.4. Image by Philippe Rouzet (2012), reproduced under Creative Commons licence BY-NC-ND 2.0.

But the most romantic interpretation of the quest for the Silver Hand is also the most literal. In Irish mythology, the first king of the Tuatha Dé Danann was Nuada Airgetlám, “Nuada of the Silver Hand” (Fig. 15.2).⁶ When the Tuatha Dé first came to Ireland from the north, Nuada had already been their king for seven years. During the first battle with the island’s inhabitants, Nuada lost an arm in combat, and – being physically imperfect – was no longer eligible to rule.⁷ However, the physician Dian Cecht replaced his lost arm with a working silver one that had been fashioned by the wright, Creidhne. This allowed Nuada to reclaim the kingship, and he ruled for another 20 years. At some point the silver prosthesis was replaced with a new arm of flesh and blood by Miach, the son of Dian Cecht.

Of course, this is not the first severed arm to feature in our survey: the preserved arm of Montrose was discussed in Chapter 7. Interestingly, a historical parallel to Creidhne’s metal creation took shape in late medieval Germany: a prosthetic iron hand was made to replace the lost right hand of the German Imperial knight Gottfried von Berlichingen (1480–1562), who was thereafter known as “Götz of the Iron Hand.” Just as Nuada’s silver appendage enabled him to resume his role as ruler, the iron prosthesis enabled Götz to continue his military career – or his campaigns of banditry, depending on your perspective, for Götz seems to have been a reiver at heart. He is associated with the

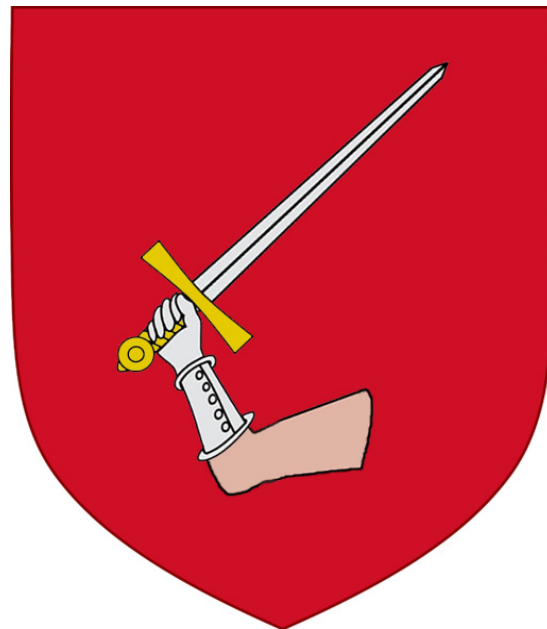
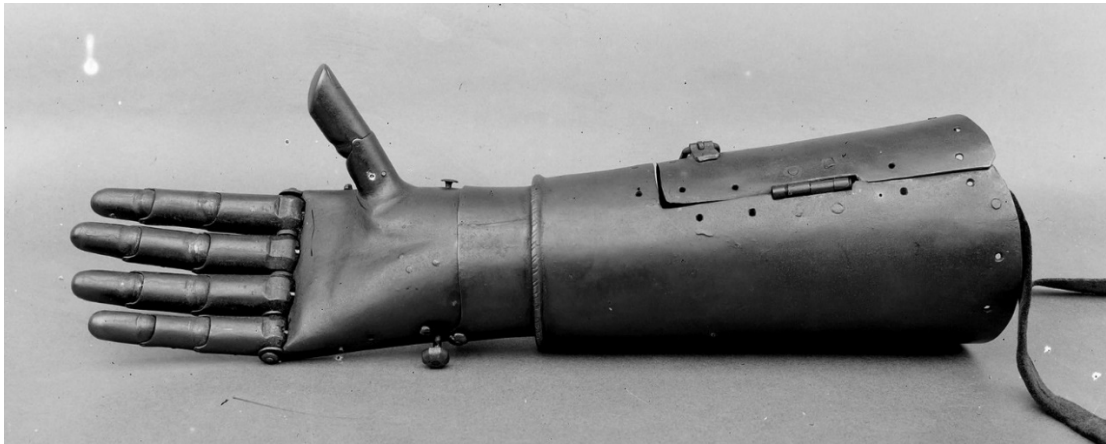
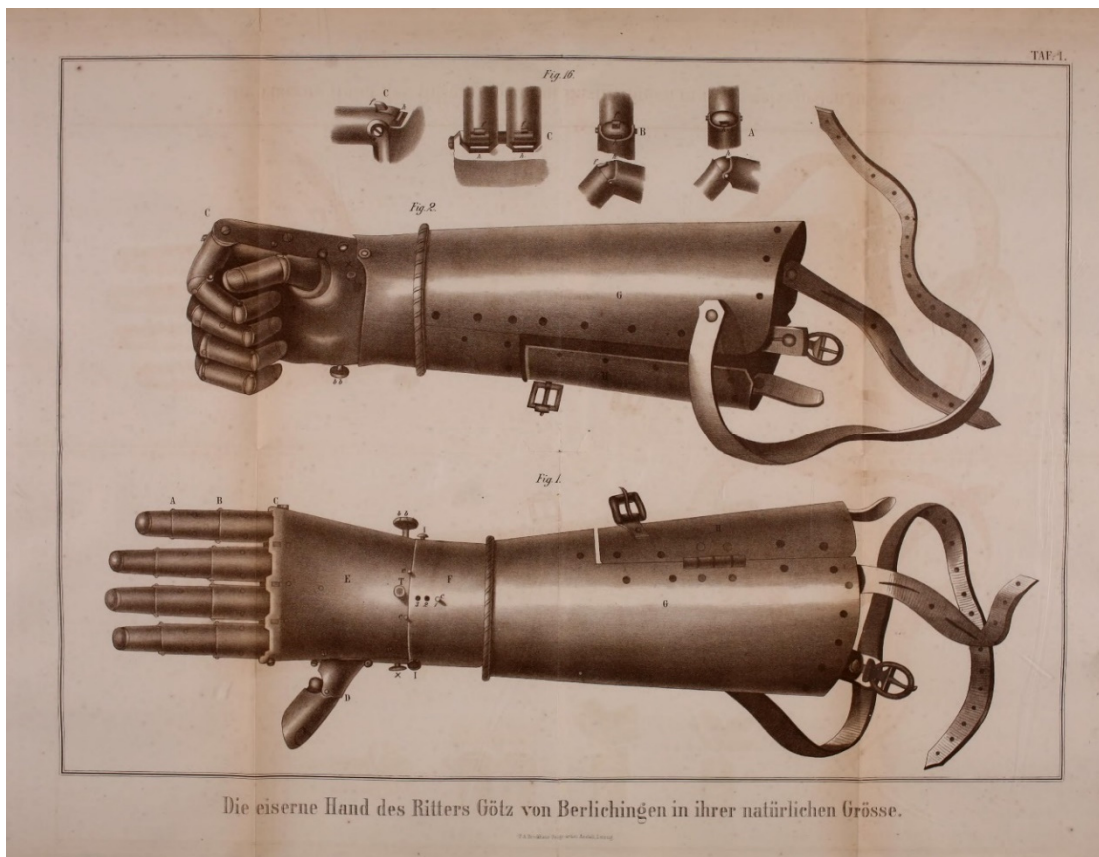


Fig. 15.2 The Silver Hand and sword of Nuada on the escutcheon of early members of the Dál gCais; image by Rí Lughaid, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.⁸



(a)



(b)

Fig. 15.3 The “Eiserne Hand” (Iron Hand) of the knight Götz von Berlichingen, *ca.* 1530. **(a)** Glass negative by Wilhelm Kratt (1887-1968) of the hand in the Museum of Jagsthausen Castle. Digitised by Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg, reproduced here under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.⁹ **(b)** Diagram illustrating some of the workings of Götz von Berlichingen’s Iron Hand, from a steel engraving *ca.* 1815.¹⁰

defiant “Swabian salute” – *Er kann mich im Arsch lecken!* or “He can lick me in the arse!” – which is attributed to him by Goethe in his play, *Götz von Berlichingen mit der Eisernen Hand*.¹¹ The play was translated into English by none other than Sir Walter Scott,¹² an author to whom we have had much recourse for Scottish lore in previous chapters – indeed, it is from Sir Walter that we learned in Chapter 7 that, in the 17th century, “the Grahams are gone to High Germany.”

The iron hand made in Nuremburg for Götz (Fig. 15.3) was capable of gripping and holding objects, including reins and a quill pen; its complex clock-like mechanism contained 152 pieces, with digit segments independently settable and fingers spring-loaded for button-activated quick release.¹³ This iron hand survives today at Jagsthausen Castle in Germany, where it is still in working condition. In contrast, the fate of Nuada’s Silver Hand remains unknown.

Perhaps it is the mission of House Graham to search for the missing Silver Hand, just as King Arthur’s knights were tasked with finding the Holy Grail. As an aside, let me mention that the *ca.* 1285 Le Mans manuscript of the Grail legend commences with the de Giresme coat of arms,¹⁴ suggesting that the French faux-Grahams have may have picked up where Lancelot left off. But let us forgo the golden chalice in favour of the silver gauntlet.

When I discovered that Nuada Airgetlám is known in Welsh mythology as Lludd Llaw Eraint, I had an ominous feeling that my own first name – Lloyd – might have its Welsh roots in Lludd, making me the Graham of the Silver Hand. However, I am relieved to report that Lloyd is in fact derived from the unrelated Welsh word *llwyd*, meaning “grey,”¹⁵ and that I am therefore excused from any messianic duty to reclaim the missing hand/land of the Grahams. On the other hand, it doesn’t preclude me from starting to search for Nuada’s sterling appendage – a timely prospect, given that the onerous task of writing *House GRAHAM* is now at an end. So, can anyone rise to the extended loan of a metal detector? I am drawn to Quixotic quests, and the new project can hardly be any crazier than the one that has just been completed.

ENDNOTES

Quotations & Foreword

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 8 Jun, 2020.

¹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 371.

² Goodreads – Martha Graham – Quotes, online at https://www.goodreads.com/author/quotes/47790.Martha_Graham.

³ “Of the name” when indigenous variants, foreign transliterations and pseudonyms are included, e.g. Chapters 4 & 10.

⁴ Strictly speaking, this is the motto of the “noble” line – the Grahams of Montrose – but in modern times it is considered applicable to all Grahams; online at Web #001: Clan Graham Society – Clan Motto. The motto is examined in detail in Chapter 1.

⁵ E.g., “[L]et me clear it up once and for all, the Graemes, Grahams etc., are not a clan and there is absolutely no evidence anywhere that I have seen that they at any time adopted the Scots clan structure,” online at Web #002: Graeme of Inchbrakie – Origins.

⁶ House of Fraser – About Us, online at <https://www.houseoffraser.co.uk/company-information/our-history>.

⁷ As stipulated above; an identical phrase was used in the prologue to each Excerpt. Technically, ‘clan’ can accommodate such heterogeneity (since it denotes a group united by *perceived* kinship), but my reasons for avoiding this term have already been listed.

⁸ Academia – Lloyd Graham – Ireland/Scotland, online at <https://independent.academia.edu/LloydGraham/Ireland-Scotland:-Mythology-&-history>.

⁹ With the publication of the book, the Excerpts have been retired.

¹⁰ The corresponding book chapter carries the same number as the pre-published Section to which it corresponds, but now uses Arabic numerals. In the Excerpts, the major subdivisions of the Sections (i.e., segments headed by bold italic titles) had been called “sub-sections;” in the book, the corresponding subdivisions of the chapters are called “sections.”

¹¹ Family Tree DNA – Graham – Results, online at Web #003.

¹² From an assessment of all the Y-DNA results in the Graham Surname DNA Project in 2010, the founder of the J1 Grahams was originally believed to be William de Grame, the first historical Graham. In this scheme, the Grahams of the western Anglo-Scottish Border were believed to be an offshoot of the “noble line.” That William de Grame was of Y-haplogroup J1 remained the working hypothesis until mid-2018, and served as the conceptual framework underpinning the advance releases of Excerpts 1-3. By August 2018, however, hints were emerging that a third group of Grahams, much less populous than either the J1 or R1b groups, had the strongest links with the houses of Montrose and Menteith and with their traditional lands in Montrose and Kincardineshire. These Grahams were of Y-DNA haplogroup I1. If the “noble line” were indeed of haplogroup I1, then this meant that the account of the origin of the Scottish Grahams provided in Section II had to be rewritten. So did that of the Border Grahams of Sections VIII & IX, whose signature is haplogroup J1 (L1253). As the reassignment of the “noble Grahams” from J1 to I1 was far from certain in 2018, I decided not to withdraw the two affected Excerpts (Excerpts 1 & 3) from circulation at that time, but supplemented them with fully revised versions of Sections II, VIII & IX that were premised on the new framework. These were issued jointly as an Excerpt titled “GRAHAM Redux: A reimagining of the family’s history in which the “noble Grahams” are of Y-haplogroup I1 rather than J1.”

¹³ Her name at the time; Lindsay Henderson from 5 Sep, 2020.

¹⁴ Publication list at ORCID – Lloyd Graham, online at <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9778-1688>, accessed 10 Jun, 2020.

¹⁵ Winner, Boehringer Mannheim Protein Poem Competition, 17th Annual Lorne Conference on Protein Structure and Function, Feb 1992, Victoria, Australia. Winner in the poetry section of two creative writing competitions for scientists held by CSIRO Australia in Jun & Nov 2007, instigated to mark the retirement of its Deputy Chief Executive, Ron Sandland. Additionally, Joint Runner-Up in the poetry section of the Nov competition. The CSIRO competitions were well subscribed, resulting in published anthologies of 73 and 43 pages, respectively, but were unique to 2007. A full list of my published poems appears in the Poetry section of Scribd – Lloyd Graham – Publications: Lloyd D.

Graham, online at <https://www.scribd.com/document/28288589/Publications-Lloyd-D-Graham>, accessed 10 Jun, 2020.

¹⁶ Publication list at ORCID – Lloyd Graham, online at <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4149-2120>, accessed 10 Jun, 2020.

¹⁷ Lloyd D. Graham (2013) “Mother Earth, Pisces and the Two-Tailed Mermaid,” online at http://www.academia.edu/3336225/Mother_Earth_Pisces_and_the_Two-Tailed_Mermaid, accessed 10 Jun, 2020.

¹⁸ Creative Commons – About The Licenses, online at <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/>.

¹⁹ Via Academia – Lloyd Graham – Ireland/Scotland, online at <https://independent.academia.edu/LloydGraham/Ireland-Scotland:-Mythology-&-history>; it will also be offered for free distribution via the Clan Graham Society website, online at <https://www.clangrahamsociety.org/index.php>.

Chapter 1

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 28 Oct, 2017.

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- ¹ Clan Graham Society – About the Grahams – Clan Motto and Colors, online at Web #001.
- ² The motto reads *Non oblie* or *Ne oblie* in its original Anglo-Norman form.
- ³ Stevenson (1914) *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 1, 18.
- ⁴ Stevenson (1903) “The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams.”
- ⁵ Stevenson (1914) *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 1, 18; Stodart (1881) *Scottish Arms – Being a Collection of Armorial Bearings, A.D. 1370-1678*, vol. 2, 44; McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 63.
- ⁶ Graham (1914) “The Debatable Land – Part II,” 145; Wright (1864) *The Roll of Caerlaverock*, 28; McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 100.
- ⁷ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 63.
- ⁸ MacDonald (1904) *Scottish Armorial Seals*, 141 (no. 1123).
- ⁹ Stodart (1881) *Scottish Arms*, vol. 2, 44.
- ¹⁰ Based on Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, xx-xxvi, amended in light of McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 134 (Chart 7.7). For the elder line, augmented by Graham (1914) “The Debatable Land – Part II,” 143-148. For both lines, augmented by Charles Cawley’s *Medieval Lands – A Prosopography of Medieval European Noble and Royal Families* database at the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, online at http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/SCOTTISH%20NOBILITY%20UNTITLED.htm#_Toc389126080.
- ¹¹ Coats of arms prepared for this book have been drawn using Inkwell Coat of Arms Design Studio Pro (v.1.10.3), downloadable online from http://inkwellideas.com/coat_of_arms/free-version/.
- ¹² The National Archives of Scotland – Declaration of Arbroath – Seals, image online at <http://webarchive.nrsotland.gov.uk/20170106021747/http://www.nas.gov.uk/about/declarationArbroathSeals.asp>.
- ¹³ Charles Cawley’s *Medieval Lands – A Prosopography of Medieval European Noble and Royal Families* database at the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, online at http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/SCOTTISH%20NOBILITY%20UNTITLED.htm#_Toc389126080.
- ¹⁴ McGladdery (2004) “Graham Family (*per. c.* 1250–1513).”
- ¹⁵ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxv.
- ¹⁶ McGladdery, “Graham Family (*per. c.* 1250–1513).”
- ¹⁷ Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, vol. 2, 44.
- ¹⁸ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 137.
- ¹⁹ Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, vol. 2, 44; drawn by McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 134 (Chart 7.7).
- ²⁰ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxii, has this man as the brother, and thus conflates the two Johns into one.
- ²¹ Stevenson (1914) *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 1, Pl. 2, no. 4 (Pl. 2 is located after p.20).
- ²² McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 63; McAndrew (1999) “The Sigillography of the Ragman Roll,” 706 (no. 3071).
- ²³ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 63; McAndrew (1999) “The Sigillography of the Ragman Roll,” 751 (no. 4023).
- ²⁴ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 63.
- ²⁵ Platts (1985) *Scottish Hazard*, vol. 1: *The Flemish Nobility and their Impact on Scotland*, 156.
- ²⁶ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 137.
- ²⁷ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxix & xxxi, places him as the 12th in line, because she has two David Grahams (9th and 10th in line, respectively) between Sir David, 1st of Montrose (d. *ca.* 1329) and Sir Patrick of Dundaff & Kincardine (d. 1400), whereas McAndrew has just the one (David, *floruit* 1323, d. *ca.* 1376).
- ²⁸ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 219.
- ²⁹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxix.
- ³⁰ Indeed, his arms are thus shown by McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 216 (Chart 10.8).
- ³¹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 219.
- ³² Bain (1884) *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 2: *A.D. 1272-1307*, Pl. II, Fig. 6 (plates appear between p.540 and p.541).

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- ³³ Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, vol. 2, 44; McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 137; Bain (1884) *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 2, 538.
- ³⁴ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 137.
- ³⁵ Bain (1884) *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 2, Pl. II, Fig. 1 (plates appear between p.540 and p.541).
- ³⁶ Bain (1884) *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 2, 538.
- ³⁷ Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, vol. 2, 44; drawn by McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 134 (Chart 7.7).
- ³⁸ Based on McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 216 (Chart 10.8), supplementary information for Graeme of Inchbrakie drawn from Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxxiii-xxxvii.
- ³⁹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 219.
- ⁴⁰ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 216 (Chart 10.8) & 219.
- ⁴¹ Nisbet (1816) *A System of Heraldry*, vol. 1, 79.
- ⁴² McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 219.
- ⁴³ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 219.
- ⁴⁴ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 219 & 446.
- ⁴⁵ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 220 & 446.
- ⁴⁶ Wikimedia Commons – File:Double Tressure flory-counter-flory demo.svg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Double_Tressure_flory-counter-flory_demo.svg.
- ⁴⁷ Stevenson (1914) *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 2, 268.
- ⁴⁸ MacDonald (1904) *Scottish Armorial Seals*, 142 (no. 1134).
- ⁴⁹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 220 & 446.
- ⁵⁰ Wikimedia Commons – File:Double Tressure flory-counter-flory demo.svg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Double_Tressure_flory-counter-flory_demo.svg.
- ⁵¹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 219.
- ⁵² McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 447.
- ⁵³ Stevenson (1914) *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 2, 290.
- ⁵⁴ The Douglas Archives – Dalkeith, online at <http://www.douglashistory.co.uk/history/Places/dalkeith.html#.Wd8EM1uCyUk>.
- ⁵⁵ “Grahams who have not been granted arms may display a simple gold shield with three gold scallops on a black field.” Clan Graham Society – Clan Motto and Colors, online at Web #001.
- ⁵⁶ Another example is provided by Graham of Orchil, a cadet house of Montrose, whose blazon is “Quarterly, 1st & 4th, or, a boar’s head couped gules, on a chief sable, three escallops or; 2nd & 3rd, argent, three roses gules.” McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 446.
- ⁵⁷ Salverda de Grave (1925) *Eneas*, line 1220.
- ⁵⁸ Jones (1979) “An Anglo-Norman Rhymed Sermon for Ash Wednesday,” 77 (line 76).
- ⁵⁹ Shakespeare (ca. 1601) *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, Act 3, Scene 4; e.g., online at <https://www.w3.org/People/maxf/XSLideMaker/hamlet.pdf>, p.88. In this case, the purpose is to remind Hamlet that he should be seeking to avenge his father’s death.
- ⁶⁰ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 445.
- ⁶¹ Clan Graham Society – Clan Motto and Colors, online at Web #001.
- ⁶² McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 446.
- ⁶³ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 172; Stevenson (1914) *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 2, 299; McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 446; Graeme of Inchbrakie – Home, online at <http://inchbrakie.tripod.com/inchbrakie/>.
- ⁶⁴ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xvii-xix & 172.
- ⁶⁵ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 445.
- ⁶⁶ The Douglas Archives – Dalkeith, online at <http://www.douglashistory.co.uk/history/Places/dalkeith.html#.Wd8EM1uCyUk>.
- ⁶⁷ Photograph taken by the author.
- ⁶⁸ Nisbet (1816) *A System of Heraldry*, vol. 1, 79-81; Burke (1884) *The General Armory of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales*, 417-418.
- ⁶⁹ A longer list than that presented in the table may be found at the Coat of Arms Database – Graham Family Crest, Coat of Arms and Name History – Mottoes, online at <https://coadb.com/surnames/graham-arms.html>.

- ⁷⁰ Translations from Fairbairn (1905) *Fairbairn's Book of Crests of the Families of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. 2, pt. 2, 1-95.
- ⁷¹ Burke (1884) *General Armory*, 417. The skull is in fact that of James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose, whose head was removed from its spike in 1661 for burial (Chapter 7); this was done by Graham of Gorthie – the head of a cadet house of Inchbrakie – whose son chose to commemorate the event by way of the family's crest and motto. See Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 828 fn.10 (cont. on p.829).
- ⁷² Burke (1884) *General Armory*, 417.
- ⁷³ Arthur Fox-Davies tells us that it is more proper to speak of a falcon "trussing" its prey. Fox-Davies (1909) *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 242.
- ⁷⁴ McAndrew (1999) "The Sigillography of the Ragman Roll," 721 (seal 3274); Neville (1993) "Widows of War: Edward I and the Women of Scotland During the War of Independence," 115.
- ⁷⁵ Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, vol. 2, 44.
- ⁷⁶ A comment from the Clan Graham Society speculates that "perhaps the armorial convention for a heron is rather like a stork. Our earliest properties had very good salmon fishing and it would be easy to develop an antipathy to herons." Clan Graham Society – Clan Badge, online at <https://www.clangrahamsociety.org/badges.html>.
- ⁷⁷ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 445.
- ⁷⁸ Marvin Margolis & Philip Parker (1972) "The Stork Fable – Some Psychodynamic Considerations," 495-497 & 501-504.
- ⁷⁹ Allen & Fisher (2012) *The Complete Poetry and Prose of Geoffrey Chaucer*, 569 (line 361).
- ⁸⁰ Margolis & Parker (1972) "The Stork Fable," 497.
- ⁸¹ Burke (1884) *General Armory*, 417.
- ⁸² Wikimedia Commons – File:Clan member crest badge - Clan Graham.svg online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Clan_member_crest_badge_-_Clan_Graham.svg.
- ⁸³ Nisbet (1816) *A System of Heraldry*, vol. 1, 81.
- ⁸⁴ Fairbairn (1905) *Fairbairn's Book of Crests*, 63.
- ⁸⁵ Elven (1840) *The Book of Family Crests*, vol. 1, 104.
- ⁸⁶ Nisbet (1816) *A System of Heraldry*, vol. 1, 81.
- ⁸⁷ Kidd (1957) *Collins Gem Latin-English/English-Latin Dictionary*, 255.
- ⁸⁸ Burke (1884) *General Armory*, 417.
- ⁸⁹ Clan Graham Society – Clan Motto and Colors, online at Web #001. The Society, however, does not provide any specifics about what biblical teachings or passages it has in mind.
- ⁹⁰ Translations in these biblical quotations are from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV), which is known to be especially faithful to the original Hebrew wording. Boldface has been added to highlight the phrase of interest.
- ⁹¹ Descendants of Esau, the Amalekites were a recurring enemy of the Israelites.
- ⁹² Bible Hub – Interlinear, online at <http://biblehub.com/interlinear/proverbs/4-5.htm>; Ulpan La-Inyan – How to Say "Don't forget" in Hebrew, online at <https://ulpan.com/say-dont-forget-hebrew/>.
- ⁹³ W. & J. Graham's Port – Heritage – 1820-1970, online at <http://www.grahams-port.com/heritage/1820-1970>.
- ⁹⁴ W. & J. Graham's Port – Heritage – 1820-1970, online at <http://www.grahams-port.com/heritage/1820-1970>.
- ⁹⁵ W. & J. Graham's Port: Ne Oublie – Legacy, online at <http://neoublie.grahams-port.com/legacy.html>.
- ⁹⁶ W. & J. Graham's Port – Wines – Wood Aged Ports – Ne Oublie, online at <http://www.grahams-port.com/wines/wood-aged-ports/ne-oublie>.
- ⁹⁷ YouTube – thedrinksbusinessmag – Ne Oublie Port (19 Jun, 2014), online at https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qohlAmS9p_M.
- ⁹⁸ John Stimpfig (2014) "Graham's 1882 'Ne Oublie' Port," How To Spend It – Food & Drink/Wine & Champagne (Jun 19), online at <https://howtospendit.ft.com/food-drink/57523-grahams-1882-ne-oublie-port>.
- ⁹⁹ Sarah Ahmed (2014) "First Taste: Graham's Ne Oublie Very Old Tawny Port," The Wine Detective: The Inside Track on Portuguese and Australian Wine (29 Sep), online at <http://thewinedetective.co.uk/blog/portugal/grahamsneoublieveryold-tawny>. Also, Moore (2014) "Would You Pay £4,000 for a Bottle of Port?"

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- ¹⁰⁰ Stimpfig (2014) “Graham’s 1882 ‘Ne Oublie’ Port,” online at <https://howtospendit.ft.com/food-drink/57523-grahams-1882-ne-oublie-port>.
- ¹⁰¹ Coastal Shipping of the Great Lakes Manning River NSW – List of Vessels Built, Visiting, Wrecked in the Great Lakes Manning Region, online at <https://www.flickr.com/groups/2224235@N24/discuss/72157638392437854/>.
- ¹⁰² Mary-Anne Warner (2008) “Mariners and Ships in Australian Waters: Ne’Oblie,” online at <http://marinersandships.com.au/1897/03/030neo.htm> (transcribed by Elaine Poole from State Records Authority of New South Wales, Shipping Master’s Office – *Passengers Arriving 1855-1922*; NRS13278, [X246], reel 538).
- ¹⁰³ Cawsey (1998) *The Making of a Rebel: Captain Donald Macleod of the New Hebrides*, 283.
- ¹⁰⁴ Parliamentary Papers of Victoria (1886) No. 35: *The New Hebrides: Correspondence, Part II: Correspondence Respecting New Proposal of France – To Be Allowed to Annex the New Hebrides*, John Ferres, Melbourne, 22-24: Appendix, “A Trip to the New Hebrides [Rough Translation from “Neo-Caledonien” of November 17, 1884], online at <https://www.parliament.vic.gov.au/papers/govpub/VPARL1886No35.pdf>.
- ¹⁰⁵ Cawsey (1998) *The Making of a Rebel*, 505.
- ¹⁰⁶ Cawsey (1998) *The Making of a Rebel*, 444-445.
- ¹⁰⁷ Cawsey (1998) *The Making of a Rebel*, 505.
- ¹⁰⁸ Racing Post – Ne Oublie (GB), online at <https://www.racingpost.com/profile/horse/600796/ne-oublie>; Sky Sports – Racing Home – Profiles – Horse – Ne Oublie, online at <http://www.skysports.com/racing/form-profiles/horse/78890/ne-oublie>.
- ¹⁰⁹ Bandcamp – Jon Dee Graham – Do Not Forget, online at <https://jondeegrahamco.bandcamp.com/album/do-not-forget>.
- ¹¹⁰ Jon Dee Graham – About, online at <http://jondeegraham.com/>.
- ¹¹¹ Live Borders – Libraries & Archives – Saving and Sharing Stories of the Scottish Borders in WWI – Saving & Sharing Poetry Competition Entries, online at [https://www.liveborders.org.uk/libraries_and_archives\(1\)/archives_and_local_history/education_and_outreach/saving_and_sharing_stories_of_the_scottish_borders_in_wwi/saving_and_sharing_poetry_competition_entries](https://www.liveborders.org.uk/libraries_and_archives(1)/archives_and_local_history/education_and_outreach/saving_and_sharing_stories_of_the_scottish_borders_in_wwi/saving_and_sharing_poetry_competition_entries).
- ¹¹² LiveBorders – Ne Oublie (do not forget), online at <https://www.liveborders.org.uk/file/Ne%20Oublie.pdf>.
- ¹¹³ The Scottish Military Research Group – Commemorations Project Forum Index – Non-commemorations, online at <http://warmemscot.s4.bizhat.com/warmemscot-tpopic9194.html>.
- ¹¹⁴ Soundcloud – Live Borders – Playlist: Saving & Sharing Poetry Competition Entries – Ne Oublie, online at <https://soundcloud.com/user-940800852/ne-oublie?in=user-940800852/sets/saving-and-sharing-wwi-poetry-competition-entries>.
- ¹¹⁵ Kennedy (1977) “Bart Hits ’em for 6.”
- ¹¹⁶ IGA – Our Brands, online at <https://www.iga.com.au/our-brands/>.
- ¹¹⁷ Black and Gold – About Black and Gold – Our Story, online at <https://www.blackandgoldofficial.com/who-are-we/>.
- ¹¹⁸ YouTube – Island Records UK – Sam Sparro: Black and Gold (22 Feb, 2008), online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eHuebHTD-IY>.
- ¹¹⁹ AZ Lyrics – Sam Sparro Lyrics – “Black And Gold,” online at <https://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/samsparro/blackandgold.html>.
- ¹²⁰ Mandosio (2008) *D’Or et de Sable*.
- ¹²¹ Fragrantica – Designers – Giorgio Armani – Armani Prive Sable Or Giorgio Armani for Women and Men, online at <https://www.fragrantica.com/perfume/Giorgio-Armani/Armani-Prive-Sable-Or-31210.html>.
- ¹²² Perfume Posse – Armani Prive Sable Fume and Sable Or (15 Jun, 2015) <http://perfumeposse.com/2015/06/15/armani-prive-sable-fume-and-sable-or/>.

Chapter 2

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- ¹ The spelling “Graeme” is adopted for this individual based on a statement from the Graemes of Inchbrakie, as follows: “Documents that have only recently come into our possession, strongly suggest that the original spelling was Graeme.” Graeme of Inchbrakie – Origins, online at Web #002.
- ² Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable – A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, xx & xvii.
- ³ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 6; Smibert (1850) *Clans of the Highlands of Scotland*, 308-309.
- ⁴ Stevenson (1902) “The Grahams: The First Graham in History.”
- ⁵ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – Graham, online at Web #004.
- ⁶ Stevenson (1902) “The Grahams: The First Graham in History.”
- ⁷ Paul (1909) *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 6, 193. The supposition is made “although direct evidence is wanting.”
- ⁸ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – Graham, online at Web #004. There are, of course, many subsequent uncertainties too; this database can be commended to those interested in a modern critique and reappraisal of the primary and secondary evidence underpinning Fig 1.1 and the early generations of Fig. 1.7.
- ⁹ Graeme of Inchbrakie – Origins, online at Web #002.
- ¹⁰ The Antonine Wall – Frontiers of the Roman Empire, online at <http://www.antoninewall.org/>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹¹ The Antonine Wall – About the Wall, online at <http://www.antoninewall.org/about-the-wall>. BBC – Scotland’s History – The Antonine Wall, online at http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/articles/antonine_wall/; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹² The Antonine Wall – The Wall After the Romans, online at <http://www.antoninewall.org/about-wall/wall-after-romans>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹³ Darryl J. Rohl (2013) “Antonine Wall,” In: Eupedia, online at https://www.ancient.eu/Antonine_Wall/; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁴ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xvii; Smibert (1850) *Clans of the Highlands of Scotland*, 308-309.
- ¹⁵ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 6.
- ¹⁶ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xvii.
- ¹⁷ Graeme of Inchbrakie – Origins, online at Web #002.
- ¹⁸ Sutton (2010): Hector Boethius (1575) *Scotorum Historia*, book VII, §20.
- ¹⁹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xix.
- ²⁰ Dana F. Sutton (2009): George Buchanan (1582) *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*, book V, §4.
- ²¹ National Library of Scotland – William Roy – Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain, 1793 – Roman Conquests of Scotland, online at <http://maps.nls.uk/roy/antiquities/romans.html>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ²² National Library of Scotland – Map images – Roy Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain, 1793 – Plan Shewing the Course of the Roman Wall called Grime’s Dyke, online at <http://maps.nls.uk/view/74486036>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ²³ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xx.
- ²⁴ Merriam-Webster Dictionary – Grim’s Ditch, online at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/Grim's%20ditch>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ²⁵ Atlas Obscura – Teufelsmauer (The Devil’s Wall), online at <https://www.atlasobscura.com/places/teufelsmauer-the-devils-wall>; Global Security – Military – Limes Germaniae - German Palisades, online at <https://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/spqr/walls-germaniae.htm>; both URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ²⁶ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 19.
- ²⁷ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 31.
- ²⁸ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 31.
- ²⁹ Here the term “Scot” is being used in its truest meaning of “a native of Ireland who migrated to Scotland as a colonist sometime after 523 CE,” as distinct from “Pict,” i.e. someone whose ancestors had always been in Scotland. As migrants from Ireland, the Scots stronghold was in the southwest of what is now Scotland, with the Picts dominating the remainder of that territory. I have found it impractical

to maintain a rigorous distinction between these two Celtic groups in my writing, and especially find a need to retain the modern – and therefore anachronistic – sense of “Scot(tish)” for the text to remain comprehensible to the non-specialist. I therefore typically use “Scots” or “Scottish” to denote Celts of either flavour residing at the time in question in what is now Scotland, even if it predates the 6th-century migration from Ireland. I occasionally use Briton as a catch-all for Celts of the British Isles, which of course encompasses the Irish, true Scots and Picts alike. Only when it is genuinely necessary to single out the Picts, or where my source makes a point of using that term, have I narrowed the terminology to “Pict.” On the 6th-century Irish colonisation of Scotland, see McEvedy (1992) *The New Penguin Atlas of Medieval History*, 26.

- ³⁰ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ³¹ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ³² Sutton (2009): George Buchanan (1582) *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, book V, §1.
- ³³ Sutton (2009): George Buchanan (1582) *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, book V.
- ³⁴ Several variants say his father was a Briton, who had fled his native country for hatred of the Romans’ cruelty; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xix; Sutton (2009): George Buchanan (1582) *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, book V, §4.
- ³⁵ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xvii & xix.
- ³⁶ Sutton (2009): George Buchanan (1582) *Rerum Scoticarum Historia*, book V, §4.
- ³⁷ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xvii & xix.
- ³⁸ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xvii.
- ³⁹ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁴⁰ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 201.
- ⁴¹ McGladdery (2004) “Graham Family (*per. c.* 1250–1513).”
- ⁴² Stevenson (1902) “The Grahams: The First Graham in History;” Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xvii; Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 6; Smibert (1850) *Clans of the Highlands of Scotland*, 308-309.
- ⁴³ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – Graham, online at Web #004.
- ⁴⁴ Graeme of Inchbrakie – Origins, online at Web #002.
- ⁴⁵ “Who are the Grahams?,” *Clan Graham News* 2 (5), Jul 1984; cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁴⁶ Harry L. Graham & Thomas Dickson Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.” I have been unable to source this work.
- ⁴⁷ “Who are the Grahams?,” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁴⁸ “Who are the Grahams?,” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁴⁹ “Who are the Grahams?,” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁵⁰ Wikimedia Commons – File:Blason ville fr Tancarville (Seine-Maritime).svg, online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blason_ville_fr_Tancarville_\(Seine-Maritime\).svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blason_ville_fr_Tancarville_(Seine-Maritime).svg); accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ⁵¹ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁵² Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁵³ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁵⁴ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁵⁵ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.” This neutralizes the requirement for a Norman family already called “de Graham” or, collectively, “lez Grames” before their arrival in Britain [Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 6; Graham (1914) “The Debatable Land – Part II,” 143-144], a suggestion (rightly) considered by the Graemes of Inchbrakie as “extremely unlikely, as no other trace of the family is to be found anywhere;” Graeme of Inchbrakie – Origins, online at Web #002.
- ⁵⁶ *Dictionary of National Biographies*, vol. 6, 51, cited and glossed by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.” I have been unable to trace the source work, but it is not Stephen (1886) *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 6.

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- ⁵⁷ Bell (1988) *The Book of Ulster Surnames*, 81, cited and glossed by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁵⁸ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁵⁹ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁶⁰ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁶¹ “Who are the Grahams?,” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁶² Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁶³ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁶⁴ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁶⁵ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁶⁶ “Tancred’s son was Rabel. ‘Rabel’s Isle’ in the Seine and ‘Rabel’s Foss’, a moat around the Castle, are named for him. Rabel’s son was Geraldus of Tancarville, who married Helendis. Geraldus and Helendis had two sons – Rabel II of Tancarville and Almericus d’Abitot. Rabel II became ‘Chamberlain’ to Robert the Devil, or Robert the Magnificent, no doubt depending on your interpretation of history. Duke of Normandy from 1010 to 1035, Robert was father of William the Conqueror (1028-1087). Rabel II’s descendants in England have used the surname ‘Chamberlain’ to this day.” Destiny – The New Zealand Chamberlain Family – Chapter 1: Ancient and Early Connections, online at <http://www.ianchamberlain.net.au/script/03-Early%20Connections.pdf>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ⁶⁷ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁶⁸ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams” speaks of “William de Chamberlain de Tancarville.”
- ⁶⁹ Moriarty (1944) “The Companions of the Conqueror.”
- ⁷⁰ Robert Sewell’s Genealogy Site – Falaise Roll, Recording the Companions of William Duke of Normandy at the Conquest of England, online at <http://www.robertsewell.ca/falaise.html>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017. The nature and status of the Falaise Roll is discussed below.
- ⁷¹ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁷² Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁷³ Burke (1884) *General Armory*, 181.
- ⁷⁴ Burke (1884) *General Armory*, 182.
- ⁷⁵ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁷⁶ Burke (1884) *General Armory*, 182.
- ⁷⁷ Geni – Guillaume de Tancarville, I, online at Web #005.
- ⁷⁸ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – 3H: Seigneurs de Tancarville, online at Web #006; Find A Grave – Guillaume I de Tancarville, online at <https://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GRid=91760058>, accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ⁷⁹ On the other hand, David Douglas writes that “Ralph of Tancarville does not ever appear to have come to England.” Douglas (1964) *William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact Upon England*, 291.
- ⁸⁰ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – 3H: Seigneurs de Tancarville, online at Web #006; Geni – Guillaume de Tancarville, I, online at Web #005.
- ⁸¹ Claire Brooks (1988), *Newsletter of the Clan Graham Association* (UK), cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁸² Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – 3H: Seigneurs de Tancarville, online at Web #006; Geni – Guillaume de Tancarville, I, online at Web #005.
- ⁸³ Graham & Graham (1979) “From Whence the Montrose Grahams?” cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁸⁴ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – 3H: Seigneurs de Tancarville, online at Web #006; Geni – Guillaume de Tancarville, I, online at Web #005.
- ⁸⁵ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – 3H: Seigneurs de Tancarville, online at Web #006.
- ⁸⁶ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – 3H: Seigneurs de Tancarville, online at Web #006; Geni – Guillaume de Tancarville, I, online at Web #005.

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- ⁸⁷ Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – 3H: Seigneurs de Tancarville, online at Web #006; Geni – Guillaume de Tancarville, I, online at Web #005.
- ⁸⁸ Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁸⁹ Robert Sewell’s Genealogy Site – Falaise Roll, Recording the Companions of William Duke of Normandy at the Conquest of England, online at <http://www.robertsewell.ca/falaise.html>; Midgely, A Yorkshire One-Name Study – The Companions of William Duke of Normandy, 1066 – The Falaise Roll, online at <http://midgelywebpages.com/normans.html#Falaise>; both URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ⁹⁰ Family Tree DNA – Scotland and the Flemish People Y-DNA Project: Background, online at https://www.familytreedna.com/public/Flemish_in_Scotland; University of St. Andrews: Institute of Scottish Historical Research – Scotland and the Flemish People, online at <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/ishr/Flemish/index.htm>; both URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ⁹¹ Family Tree DNA – Scotland and the Flemish People Y-DNA Project: Background, online at https://www.familytreedna.com/public/Flemish_in_Scotland; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ⁹² Platts (1985) *Scottish Hazard*, vol. 1, 156. Quoted by Claire Brooks (1988) in the *Newsletter of the Clan Graham Association* (UK); in turn, Brooks was quoted by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁹³ Claire Brooks (1988) *Newsletter of the Clan Graham Association* (UK), cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.” Brooks was relying upon Platts (1985) *Scottish Hazard*, vol. 1, 64-65 & 155-157, and Platts (1990) *Scottish Hazard*, vol. 2: *The Flemish Heritage*, 96-97.
- ⁹⁴ As cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ⁹⁵ Ellis (1879-80) “On the Landholders of Gloucestershire Named in Domesday Book,” 172-175 [LX: “Ernulfvs de Hesding”]; Eyton (1871) “The Descendants of Arnulph de Hesding,” 241-252. Online genealogies of the Comptes d’Hesdin are available at Le Vieil Hesdin – Tableau Généalogique des Comtes d’Hesdin, online at <http://www.levieilhedin.org/genealogiecomtehesdin.php>, and Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – Medieval Lands – Northern France – Artois, Boulogne, Guines, Saint-Pol - 4A: Comtes de Hesdin, online at http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/NORTHERN%20FRANCE.htm#_Toc478923683; both URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ⁹⁶ Genealogie Online – Stamboom Homs – Arnulf (Ernulf) (Arnulf) de Hesdin Seigneur, online at <https://www.genealogieonline.nl/en/stamboom-homs/16000000002043193448.php>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ⁹⁷ Thomson (2003) *William of Malmesbury*, 199.
- ⁹⁸ King (2004) “William fitz Alan (c.1105–1160).”
- ⁹⁹ King (2004) “William fitz Alan (c.1105–1160).”
- ¹⁰⁰ Ellis (1879-80) “On the Landholders of Gloucestershire Named in Domesday Book;” Eyton (1871) “The Descendants of Arnulph de Hesding;” Our Royal, Titled, Noble, and Commoner Ancestors & Cousins – Person Page155 – Arnulf, Seigneur de Hesdin, online at <http://our-royal-titled-noble-and-commoner-ancestors.com/p155.htm#i4660>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁰¹ J. Horace Round (1899) *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, vol. 1: *A.D. 918-1206*, 482 (no. 1326).
- ¹⁰² Round, (1899) *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, vol. 1, 507 (no. 1385). Note that William de Grame was supposed to be in Scotland in 1125; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xx & xvii; Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ¹⁰³ My Heritage – Ernulf de Hesdin (born Hesdin), online at <https://www.myheritage.com/research/record-10109-31109621/ernulf-de-hesdin-born-hesdin-in-wikitree?indld=externalindividual-d401468b5816d2e6072d104d62aaef5b&mrid=68a2d1c2d4e43ca58e309f0787bf7ff>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁰⁴ Platts (1985) *Scottish Hazard*, vol. 1, 155-157.
- ¹⁰⁵ Heraldry of the World – Hesdin, online at <http://www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Hesdin>; Ancestry – All Results for Ernulf De Hesdin, online at <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/sse.dll?gsfn=Ernulf&gsln=de+Hesdin&gspl=1%2CAny+Locality&submit=Search&gl=allgs&prox=1&ti=5538&gss=wctest>; Ville d’Hesdin – Patrimoine – Les Monuments – Le Blason, online at <http://www.ville-hesdin.fr/le-blason.html>; all URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁰⁶ Heraldry of the World – Vieil-Hesdin, online at <http://www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Vieil-Hesdin> <http://www.levieilhedin.org/heraldique.php>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.

- ¹⁰⁷ Keats-Rohan (2004) “Malet, William (d. 1071?).”
- ¹⁰⁸ E.g., Betham (1804) *The Baronetage of England, Or the History of the English Baronets*, vol. 4, 197-201 [“Malet, of Hortham, Wiltshire”].
- ¹⁰⁹ Heraldry of the World – Hesdin, online at <http://www.ngw.nl/heraldrywiki/index.php?title=Hesdin>; Ancestry – All Results for Ernulf De Hesdin, online at <http://search.ancestry.com/cgi-bin/ssc.dll?gsfn=Ernulf&gsln=de+Hesdin&gspl=1%2CAny+Locality&submit=Search&gl=allgs&prox=1&ti=5538&gss=wctest>; Ville d’Hesdin – Patrimoine – Les Monuments – Le Blason, online at <http://www.ville-hesdin.fr/le-blason.html>; all URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹¹⁰ Wikimedia Commons – File:Blason Hesdin.svg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Blason_Hesdin.svg; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹¹¹ E.g., Betham (1804) *The Baronetage of England*, vol. 4, 197-201 [“Malet, of Hortham, Wiltshire”].
- ¹¹² Wikimedia Commons – File:MalletArms.png, online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:MalletArms.png>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹¹³ Including the extensive genealogies in Charles Cawley’s *Medieval Lands – A Prosopography of Medieval European Noble and Royal Families* database at the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy, an encyclopedia whose emphasis is on primary documentation rather than on secondary sources, as genealogies in the latter are often speculative or incorrect. Its database for the English Nobility can be accessed via the index at the Foundation for Medieval Genealogy – Medieval Lands: Index, online at <http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/CONTENTS.htm#EnglishUntitled>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹¹⁴ Olive de Tancarville, daughter of Rabel de Tancarville and his first wife Tiphaine de Penthievre; Medieval Genealogy – Medieval Lands – Untitled English Nobility L-O – Malet, online at http://fmg.ac/Projects/MedLands/ENGLISHNOBILITYMEDIEVAL3L-O.htm#_Toc389053849; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹¹⁵ Platts (1985) *Scottish Hazard*, vol. 1, 156.
- ¹¹⁶ Argent, of course, is the obvious substitute for Or in differencing arms, these being the two metallic colours used in heraldry.
- ¹¹⁷ To be fair, Platts elsewhere countenances an emergence of the golden scallops in the Graham line prior to the 14th century, but only as pure speculation and within the confines of her Flemish origin hypothesis. Specifically, in *Scottish Hazard*, vol. 1, 157, she guesses that it may have been at the end of the 12th century “that the Scottish heirs of Arnulf de Hesdin’s younger son [= William de Grame] decided to commemorate their links with French Flanders by changing Ghent’s silver to gold, thus restoring the escallops to their original tincture,” adding “We do not know when, or even if, this was the thinking behind the change.”
- ¹¹⁸ Claire Brooks (1988) *Newsletter of the Clan Graham Association* (UK), cited by Lowrie (2000) “Theories on the Origins of the Grahams.”
- ¹¹⁹ Drew Smith (n.d.) “DNA 101: The Basics for Beginners,” online at <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~flsbgs/images/dna101.pdf>; Family Tree DNA – Learning Center – Beginner’s Guide – Paternal Lineages Tests, online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/learn/dna-basics/ydna/>; International Society of Genetic Genealogy Wiki – Y chromosome DNA tests, online at https://isogg.org/wiki/Y_chromosome_DNA_tests; all URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹²⁰ E.g., The Stewart Society – Bannockburn Genetic Genealogy Project, online at <http://www.stewartociety.org/bannockburn-genetic-genealogy-project.cfm>; DNA Study – Clan Irwin Surname DNA Study, online at <http://dnastudy.clanirwin.org/main-findings>; Tyrone Bowes (2013) “Pinpointing the Hamilton Scottish Paternal Ancestral Genetic Homeland – A Scottish Case Study,” online at http://harfordenterprises.com.au/persistent/catalogue_files/products/hamiltoncasestudydrtyronebowes.pdf; all URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹²¹ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹²² Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003; accessed 7 Aug, 2018. This represents an increase over the 15 families counted in Dec 2010; Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007, accessed 7 Aug, 2018.
- ¹²³ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.

- ¹²⁴ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹²⁵ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 2 Aug, 2018. The Results section was compiled in Dec 2010 and remained unchanged at the time of this access. On the other hand, a casually worded message in the News section, posted in May 2016, claimed that “The largest Graham family, the J1-L1253 lot, whose ancestors came originally from the Scottish Borders, are unlikely to belong to the same family as the Noble Grahams of Montrose and Menteith” [Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – News – 18 May 2016, online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/graham/about/news>; accessed 2 Aug, 2018]. This appraisal is problematic from several perspectives. First, the L1253 marker only dates to 554-543 years Before Present (Fig. 8.7) and therefore would first have arisen among the Border Grahams after they had formed a geographically discrete population. One would not expect to find it in any Scottish predecessors (since it did not then exist) or in descendants of those predecessors located outside the Border region, so its possible absence from the Montrose/Menteith line did not preclude a shared ancestry for the Border and “noble” Grahams. The logic that prompted the May 2016 claim seems not to have been based on any revision to or reinterpretation of the genetic data. Rather, it seems to have been a response to the historical presence of Grahams on the Border “for generations before the Netherby lot arrived,” as evidenced by the record of two archers surnamed Grame – one in the Scottish Marches in 1383-5 and the other at Berwick in 1403-4 [Universities of Reading & Southampton – The Soldier in Later Medieval England – Database search, online at <https://research.reading.ac.uk/medievalsoldier/dbsearch/>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017]. However, it should be clear from Fig. 8.4 that this too would not preclude the Border and “noble” Grahams sharing a common Scottish ancestry. If the former were collateral branches of the elder line of noble Grahams, as proposed in Fig. 8.4, their representation on the Western Border would probably have begun soon after Henry of Dalkeith acquired lands near Dumfries early in the 13th century.
- ¹²⁶ See the Foreword for details of how this impacted the book’s annual instalments (“Excerpts”) of 2015-2017 and resulted in the rewriting of Sections II, VIII & IX (now Chapters 2, 8 & 9, respectively); the revised Sections were co-released in 2018 as “GRAHAM Redux.”
- ¹²⁷ Kit IN35441 in Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003; accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹²⁸ Clan Macfarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy, online at <https://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/getperson.php?personID=I32910&tree=CC>; accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹²⁹ Kit NI21188 in Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003, accessed 3 Jun 2019; Carpenter (1942) *The Reverend John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut and His Descendants*; personal communication (3 Jun, 2019) from tester, the son of descendant 517 in Carpenter’s book (Carpenter, 479). The relationship of Rev. John Graham to the house of Montrose remains unclear (Carpenter, 1-16).
- ¹³⁰ Belinda Dettmann, co-administrator of the Graham Surname DNA Project at Family Tree DNA, post of 3 Aug, 2018, online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/graham/activity-feed>, accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹³¹ Kit 234570 in Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003; accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹³² Graham (2011) *Grahams o’ the Mearns*, 13.
- ¹³³ Graham (2011) *Grahams o’ the Mearns*, 15.
- ¹³⁴ Kit 149375 in Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003; accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹³⁵ Births, Deaths and Marriages – Hugh Graham (1736 -) records that “Hugh was born on October 16 1736, in Midlothian, Scotland, United Kingdom;” see online at http://www.lisa.com/bdm/g/graham/hugh_graham_93622.html; accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹³⁶ E.g. kit 555467 in Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003; accessed 5 Aug, 2018. This tester claims descent from an Andrew Anderson (1815-1887) of Auchterhouse, Angus, which is near Dundee on the east coast of Scotland.
- ¹³⁷ The circumstantial evidence for I1 as the original/early Y-haplogroup of the “noble line” is sufficiently coherent that a contrary outcome for current members of the Montrose or Menteith lines (or their cadet houses) would come as a surprise. In such a scenario, one should bear in mind that the

- frequency of non-paternity events (NPEs) is estimated at 1-3% per generation; Family Tree DNA – What is the likelihood of a non-paternal event or false paternity?; online at <https://learn.familytreedna.com/y-dna-testing/y-str/likelihood-non-paternal-event-false-paternity/>. Assuming a NPE rate of just 1-2% (with 25 yrs per generation and a start date of 1100 CE; Fig. 1.1) means that the cumulative probability of an NPE event in the ancestry of any modern Graham tester will be 35-55%; Society of Genetic Genealogy Wiki – Non-Paternity event, online at https://isogg.org/wiki/Non-paternity_event#Historical_NPE_statistics. URLs accessed 23 Jul, 2020.
- ¹³⁸ Lappalainen *et al.* (2008) “Migration Waves to the Baltic Sea Region;” Lappalainen *et al.* (2009) “Population Structure in Contemporary Sweden: A Y-Chromosomal and Mitochondrial DNA Analysis;” G. Broich *et al.* (2015) “Specific European Y-Chromosome Haplotype I and its Subclasses: Migrations and Modern Prevalence.”
- ¹³⁹ I am grateful to Bruce Graham of Welcome Bay, Tauranga, New Zealand, for alerting me to the existence of this pedigree in Dec 2017. According to John Graham [Graham (1841) *Ireland Preserved; or the Siege of Londonderry and Battle of Aughrim*, 321-322], this Graeme patrilineage is recorded by Olaus Magnus, archbishop of Uppsala (Sweden), in a book that was in the library of Bishop Hopkins. The book’s title is not cited, but a passage from it is quoted. The passage is not present in Olaus’ well-known compendium of Scandinavian (pseudo-)history, namely Olaus Magnus (1555) *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus*.
A large portion of Bishop Hopkins’ collection now forms part of the Derry & Raphoe Diocesan Library (University of Ulster, Magee Learning & Resource Centre). This library contains one copy of another Scandinavian (pseudo-)history by Olaus Magnus, albeit without any provenance connecting it with Hopkins. The work in question is *Olai Magni Gentium Septentrionalium[m] Historiae Breviarium*, published in Amsterdam in 1669. However, the passage quoted by John Graham does not seem to be present in this work either.
Despite the impression given by Graham, it seems that Olaus Magnus makes no mention of the Scottish Grahams, nor does he mention Hadingus visiting Scotland to fight for King Fergus against the Romans (or indeed for any other reason). This notion undoubtedly originated with Graham himself. The coincidental homophony practically begs the amateur genealogist to connect the House of Graham in Scotland with the house of King Gram of Denmark, and Hadingus’ extensive travels make him a natural candidate for such a link. The section of Olaus’ work quoted by Graham (in Latin) merely identifies Hadingus as the second son of King Gram and mentions that the former chose to spend his early life outside Denmark in “honourable exile.” As we shall see, other sources supply details for Hadingus’s exploits outside his homeland, and they do not involve visiting Scotland.
- ¹⁴⁰ Hall (2012) *Beowulf – An Anglo-Saxon Epic Poem*, xxxi & 1.
- ¹⁴¹ Maciamo Hay (2017) “Haplogroup 1 (Y-DNA)”, online at https://www.eupedia.com/europe/Haplogroup_I1_Y-DNA.shtml; accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁴² Elton (1905) *The Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus*, vol. 1, 95-128.
- ¹⁴³ Dumézil (1973) *From Myth to Fiction: The Saga of Hadingus*.
- ¹⁴⁴ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003; accessed 7 Aug, 2018. This represents an increase over the 15 families counted in Dec 2010, Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 7 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁴⁵ Underhill *et al.* (2007) “New Phylogenetic Relationships for Y-chromosome Haplogroup I: Reappraising its Phylogeography and Prehistory.”
- ¹⁴⁶ Scotland and the Flemish People Y-DNA Project – Results – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at https://www.familytreedna.com/public/Flemish_in_Scotland?iframe=yresults; accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁴⁷ Family Tree DNA – Mallett – DNA Results – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/public/Mallett?iframe=yresults>; accessed 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁴⁸ Rootsi *et al.* (2004) “Phylogeography of Y-Chromosome Haplogroup I Reveals Distinct Domains of Prehistoric Gene Flow in Europe.”
- ¹⁴⁹ Family Tree DNA – Chamberlain Surname DNA Project – Results – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/public/Chamberlain?iframe=yresults>, accessed 5 Aug, 2018.

Chapter 3

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 11 Dec, 2018.

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- ¹ Henry and Pieres are listed under “Clergy, Knights and others from Dumfriesshire” in the Ragman Roll of 1296 (signed on 28 Aug at Berwick-on-Tweed); see Regarde Bien – The Ragman Roll of 1296, online at <http://regarde-bien.com/Michael%20McGeith.pdf> and Bain (1884) *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 2: *A.D. 1272-1307*, 203. For Nicholas (as Sire Nicol de Graham of Linlescu, who also signed on 28 Aug at Berwick-on-Tweed) see p.211 of the latter publication, and also Paul (1909) *The Scots Peerage*, vol. 6, 195.
- ² Robert the Bruce was the son of the Robert de Brus, 6th Lord of Annandale.
- ³ Historic Environment Scotland (2015) “Statement of Significance – Caerlaverock Castle,” Edinburgh, 2-3.
- ⁴ Historic Environment Scotland (2015) “Caerlaverock Castle,” 3.
- ⁵ Historic Environment Scotland (2015) “Caerlaverock Castle,” 17.
- ⁶ Historic Environment Scotland (2015) “Caerlaverock Castle,” 2 & 4.
- ⁷ Brault (1970) “The Hatton-Dugdale Facsimile of the Caerlaverock poem,” 47.
- ⁸ Historic Environment Scotland (2015) “Caerlaverock Castle,” 5; Brault (1970) “The Hatton-Dugdale Facsimile,” 47-48.
- ⁹ Brault (1970) “The Hatton-Dugdale Facsimile,” 47-49.
- ¹⁰ Wikimedia Commons – File:Caerlaverock Castle from the South West.JPG, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caerlaverock_Castle_from_the_South_West.JPG.
- ¹¹ Wikimedia Commons – File:Caerlaverock Castle from the air 1.jpeg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caerlaverock_Castle_from_the_air_1.jpeg.
- ¹² Wikimedia Commons – File:Caerlaverock castle.JPG, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Caerlaverock_castle.JPG.
- ¹³ Nicolas (1828) *The Siege of Carlaverock*, vi.
- ¹⁴ Wright (1864) *The Roll of Caerlaverock*.
- ¹⁵ The title page states that the printing contains “the coat-armours emblazoned in gold and colours,” yet it is clear from the colour scan in the Internet Archive that this is not the case for the book digitized from the University of California Libraries collection, Call No. CR 1614 R645 1864 MAIN, online at <https://archive.org/details/rollofarmsofprin00wrigrich>. Other copies clearly do, e.g. <http://www.michaelkemp.co.uk/product/47132/The-Roll-of-Arms-of-the-princes-Barons-and-Knights-Who-Attended-King-Edward-I-to-the-Siege-of-Caerlaverock-in-1300-With-Coats-of-Arms-Emblazoned-in-Gold-and-Colouor-WRIGHT-Thomas-editor>.
- ¹⁶ Wright (1864) *The Roll of Caerlaverock*, 25.
- ¹⁷ Historic Environment Scotland (2015) “Caerlaverock Castle,” 7-8.
- ¹⁸ Henry and Pieres are listed under “Clergy, Knights and others from Dumfriesshire” in the Ragman Roll of 1296 (signed on 28 Aug at Berwick-on-Tweed); see Regarde Bien – The Ragman Roll of 1296, online at <http://regarde-bien.com/Michael%20McGeith.pdf> and Bain (1884) *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 2, 203. Later Graham connections to Dumfriesshire are revealed in Chapter 8.
- ¹⁹ One modern source has assigned him to the Fourth Squadron, which was led by Edward of Caernarvon, Prince of Wales (later Edward II) [WappenWiki – Caerlaverock Roll, see online at http://wappenwiki.org/index.php/Caerlaverock_Roll]. In the poem, a listing of nobles in each of the four squadrons is then followed by a description of individuals involved in the actual fighting, and it is the latter section in which Henry features. The WappenWiki compiler has treated the list of active combatants as a continuation of the list of nobles in the Fourth Squadron, which does not seem justified by the structure or wording of the poem.
- ²⁰ Wright (1864) *The Roll of Caerlaverock*, 28-29.
- ²¹ Wright (1864) *The Roll of Caerlaverock*, 28 fn.3.
- ²² Wright (1864) *The Roll of Caerlaverock*, between 32 & 33.
- ²³ Wright (1864) *The Roll of Caerlaverock*, between 32 & 33.
- ²⁴ Nicolas (1828) *The Siege of Carlaverock*, 68.
- ²⁵ Graham (1914) “The Debatable Land – Part II,” 145.

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- ²⁶ Nicolas (1828) *The Siege of Carlaverock*, 68-69 & 72-73.
- ²⁷ Nicolas (1828) *The Siege of Carlaverock*, 68.
- ²⁸ Nicolas (1828) *The Siege of Carlaverock*, 331.
- ²⁹ Patricia Lovett MBE – The Siege of Caerlaverock, online at <http://www.patricialovett.com/category/historicalbuilding/> (post of 17 June, 2017).
- ³⁰ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 99 & Table 5.1.
- ³¹ Graham (1914) “The Debatable Land – Part II,” 145. Possibly the modern Simonburn, Hexham, Northumberland.
- ³² McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 99.
- ³³ Wright (1864) *The Roll of Caerlaverock*, 28 fn.3.
- ³⁴ Williams (2011) “Tomb of Wallace’s Finest Knight is to be Restored.”
- ³⁵ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, xxiii.
- ³⁶ Williams (2011) “Tomb of Wallace’s Finest Knight is to be Restored.”
- ³⁷ Internet Movie Database (IMDb) – Braveheart (1995), online at <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0112573/>.
- ³⁸ New World Encyclopedia – William Wallace, entry date 22 Oct 2016, online at http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/William_Wallace. One may note with amusement the presence of a John Graham as chargehand propman in the film’s production team; see the IMDb full cast listing, online at https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0112573/fullcredits?ref=tt_cl_sm#cast.
- ³⁹ U.K. National Grid reference NS 681 858. Site details at Canmore – Sir John De Graham’s Castle, online at <https://canmore.org.uk/site/45283/sir-john-de-grahams-castle>.
- ⁴⁰ Wikimedia Commons – File:Sir John de Grahams Castle remains (geograph 1863556).jpg, online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sir_John_de_Grahams_Castle_remains_\(geograph_1863556\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sir_John_de_Grahams_Castle_remains_(geograph_1863556).jpg).
- ⁴¹ YouTube – D Wilkinson – DJI Phantom footage of Sir John de Graham’s Castle near Carron Valley Reservoir, online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CPF1BmXDQ-s&t=73s>.
- ⁴² Forestry Commission Scotland – Sir John de Graham Castle, online at <https://scotland.forestry.gov.uk/activities/heritage/prehistoric-sites/sir-john-de-graham-castle>.
- ⁴³ Anderson (2005) *Braveheart: From Hollywood to Holyrood*, 27.
- ⁴⁴ W. James (Jim) Nethery (n.d.) “Sir John Graham of Dundaff is known as the ‘Graham with the Bright Sword,’” Clan Graham Society website, online at <https://www.clangrahamsociety.org/titlesdundaff.html>.
- ⁴⁵ Jamieson (ed.) (1869) *Wallace, by Henry the Minstrel*, 318 (note to Book V, line 436). References to the text of Blind Harry’s poem will use this edition, citing Book and line numbers.
- ⁴⁶ Murison (1900) *Sir William Wallace*, 68.
- ⁴⁷ Murison (1900) *Sir William Wallace*, 70. Date from Nethery (n.d.) “Sir John Graham of Dundaff.”
- ⁴⁸ Murison (1900) *Sir William Wallace*, 83-84.
- ⁴⁹ Murison (1900) *Sir William Wallace*, 86-88; Nethery (n.d.) “Sir John Graham of Dundaff.”
- ⁵⁰ Clan McFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy – Sir John Graham, of Dundaff, online at <https://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/getperson.php?personID=14309&tree=CC>, note 5 (attributed to Norm Graham, 2013).
- ⁵¹ Murison (1900) *Sir William Wallace*, 100.
- ⁵² Williams (2011) “Tomb of Wallace’s Finest Knight is to be Restored.”
- ⁵³ Mostly Medieval – Ballads – Blind Harry’s Wallace: Synopsis, Book XI Chapter 1, online at <http://www.mostly-medieval.com/explore/bhsyn13.htm#bk11ch1>.
- ⁵⁴ As mentioned above, references to the text of Blind Harry’s poem are based on Jamieson (1869) *Wallace, by Henry the Minstrel*, citing Book and line numbers.
- ⁵⁵ “Swooned on his saddle.” For arsoun, see Middle English Dictionary Entry – arsoun, online at <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED2342>.
- ⁵⁶ Murison (1900) *Sir William Wallace*, 105.
- ⁵⁷ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxii.
- ⁵⁸ Electric Scotland – Graham, online at <http://www.electricscotland.com/webclans/dtog/graham2.html>.
- ⁵⁹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxii.
- ⁶⁰ Murison (1900) *Sir William Wallace*, 156.
- ⁶¹ National Library of Scotland – 1488: The Wallace, online at <https://digital.nls.uk/scotlandspages/timeline/1488.html>.

- ⁶² TEAMS Middle English Texts Series – The Wallace: Introduction [from Anne McKim (2003) *The Wallace – Selections*, Medieval Institute Publications, Kalamazoo, MI], online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/mckim-wallace-introduction>.
- ⁶³ BBC Scotland (2014) – Scotland’s History – William Wallace, online at http://www.bbc.co.uk/scotland/history/articles/william_wallace/.
- ⁶⁴ Clan McFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy – Sir John Graham, of Dundaff, online at <https://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/getperson.php?personID=14309&tree=CC>, note 4.
- ⁶⁵ Wikimedia Commons – File:Memorial to Sir John de Graeme - geograph.org.uk - 1578712.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Memorial_to_Sir_John_de_Graeme_-_geograph.org.uk_-_1578712.jpg.
- ⁶⁶ Falkirk Trinity Church, Manse Place, Falkirk FK1 1JN.
- ⁶⁷ Eyre-Todd (1923) *The Highland Clans of Scotland – Their History and Traditions*, vol. 1, 144.
- ⁶⁸ Nethery (n.d.) “Sir John Graham of Dundaff.” More usually, “Graham with the Bright Sword” indicates a different John – “John with the bright sword,” a supposed ancestor of the Grahams of the Western Border, who is sometimes (incorrectly) conflated with John of Kilbride, son of Malise, 1st Earl of Menteith (Fig. 8.3). Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 71 & 80-82; Graham (1914) “The Debatable Land – Part II,” 154-155.
- ⁶⁹ Mayne (1836) *The Siller Gun – A Poem, in Five Cantos*, 196; Taylor (1889) *The Great Historic Families of Scotland*, vol. 2, 143.
- ⁷⁰ Williams (2011) “Tomb of Wallace’s Finest Knight is to be Restored.”
- ⁷¹ Sergio Casali (2008) “The King of Pain: Aeneas, Achates and Achos in Aeneid I,” 181-189.
- ⁷² Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 7.
- ⁷³ Taylor (1889) *The Great Historic Families of Scotland*, vol. 2, 143; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxiii.
- ⁷⁴ Louisa G. Graham’s account mistakes the English/Scots inscription for a translation of the Latin epitaph and therefore attributes the authorship of both directly to Wallace; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxiii-xxiv.
- ⁷⁵ Williams (2011) “Tomb of Wallace’s Finest Knight is to be Restored.”
- ⁷⁶ Find A Grave – Sir John De Graeme, online at <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/67296341/john-de-graeme#view-photo=141279644>.
- ⁷⁷ Taylor (1889) *The Great Historic Families of Scotland*, vol. 2, 143; Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 8; Nethery (n.d.) “Sir John Graham of Dundaff.”
- ⁷⁸ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 8 incl. fn.1; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxiv.
- ⁷⁹ Taylor (1889) *The Great Historic Families of Scotland*, vol. 2, 143; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxiv.
- ⁸⁰ Eyre-Todd (1923) *The Highland Clans of Scotland*, vol. 1, 144; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxiv.
- ⁸¹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, xxiv.
- ⁸² The stated width is likely to be an overestimate, since images indicate that the hilt is about the same length as the cross-guard.
- ⁸³ Wikimedia Commons – File:Sir John De Graeme tomb, Falkirk Old Parish Church (geograph 5391147).jpg, online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sir_John_De_Graeme_tomb,_Falkirk_Old_Parish_Church_\(geograph_5391147\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sir_John_De_Graeme_tomb,_Falkirk_Old_Parish_Church_(geograph_5391147).jpg).
- ⁸⁴ David Reid (2018) via Google Maps, online at <https://www.google.com/maps/place/Falkirk+Trinity+Church/@55.9999757,-3.7855789,3a,99.8y,90t/data=!3m8!1e2!3m6!1sAF1QipNLJdz9G4iDXWttmm7NOLQ6L9345K8ZTvUgdcdq12eI0!3e12!6shhttps:%2F%2Fh5.googleusercontent.com%2Fp%2FAF1QipNLJdz9G4iDXWttmm7NOLQ6L9345K8ZTvUgdcdq%3Dw203-h135-k-no!7i720!8i479!4m8!1m2!2m1!1sFalkirk+Old+Parish+Church!3m4!1s0x0:0x7cf27b4e586cd241!8m2!3d56.0001448!4d-3.7857127>.
- ⁸⁵ The Society of John De Graeme (2018) “The Sir John De Graeme Sword,” YouTube video, online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hpFJY5Inuoo>.
- ⁸⁶ The Society Of John De Graeme, online at <https://the-society-of-john-de-graeme.weebly.com/>.
- ⁸⁷ Alchetron – John de Graham, online at <https://alchetron.com/John-de-Graham#>.
- ⁸⁸ Dalrymple (1776) *Annales of Scotland: From the Accession of Malcolm III, Surnamed Canmore, to the Accession of Robert I*, 238.
- ⁸⁹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 137 & 219.

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- ⁹⁰ Geni – John Graham, 9th Earl of Menteith, online at <http://www.geni.com/people/John-Graham-9th-Earl-of-Menteith/6000000000517578915>.
- ⁹¹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 137 & 219.
- ⁹² McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 137.
- ⁹³ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 137.
- ⁹⁴ WappenWiki – File:Stewart Menteith Balliol Roll.svg, online at [http://wappenwiki.org/index.php/File:Stewart Menteith Balliol Roll.svg](http://wappenwiki.org/index.php/File:Stewart_Menteith_Balliol_Roll.svg).
- ⁹⁵ McGladdery (2004) “Graham Family (per. c.1250-1513),” 169-170; Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, *Memoirs*, 105-106.
- ⁹⁶ Stevenson (1903) “The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams,” 186.
- ⁹⁷ As a personal aside, I might mention that the toponym was familiar to me because my sister’s two children – Daniel and Robyn Craig – had both spent their junior school days at Neville’s Cross Primary School in Durham. I was unaware of the historical Graham connection to Neville’s Cross until I began researching this chapter.
- ⁹⁸ McGladdery (2004) “Graham Family (per. c.1250-1513),” Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, 107.
- ⁹⁹ Geni – John Graham, 9th Earl of Menteith, online at <http://www.geni.com/people/John-Graham-9th-Earl-of-Menteith/6000000000517578915>.
- ¹⁰⁰ Stevenson (1903) “The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams,” 186.
- ¹⁰¹ Dictionary of the Scots Language – A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (up to 1700) – Bibliography – Wynt., online at <http://www.dsl.ac.uk/bibliography/dost/db2094>.
- ¹⁰² Stevenson (1903) “The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams,” 186; Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, 107.
- ¹⁰³ Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, 107.
- ¹⁰⁴ Stevenson (1903) “The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams,” 186-187; Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, 107.
- ¹⁰⁵ Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, 108.
- ¹⁰⁶ McGladdery (2004) “Graham Family (per. c.1250-1513).”
- ¹⁰⁷ Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, 108.
- ¹⁰⁸ Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, 108.
- ¹⁰⁹ Fraser (1880) *The Red Book of Menteith*, vol. 1, 109.
- ¹¹⁰ Stevenson (1902) “The Traditions of the Grahams – The Romance of Sir Eger, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray-Steele,” 183.
- ¹¹¹ Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership – The History of Sir Eger, Sir Grahame, and Sir Gray-Steel, online at <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A43910.0001.001?view=toc>.
- ¹¹² Head (2006) *The Cambridge Guide to Literature in English*, 342; Stevenson (1902) “The Romance of Sir Eger, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray-Steele,” 183; Evans (2001) “Re-Evaluating the Case for a Scottish *Eger and Grime*.” One of many origin theories posits that Eger and Grime are refractions of Yder and Gawaine, two figures familiar from medieval Arthurian romances; van Duzee (1963) *A Medieval Romance of Friendship: Eger and Grime*, 89-92.
- ¹¹³ Cichon (2011) “‘As Ye Have Brewd, So Shal Ye Drink’: The Proverbial Context of *Eger and Grime*,” 37.
- ¹¹⁴ Cichon (2011) “‘As Ye Have Brewd, So Shal Ye Drink,’” 35-37.
- ¹¹⁵ Cichon (2011) “‘As Ye Have Brewd, So Shal Ye Drink,’” 36-37. Notwithstanding the Bohemian setting of the original story, the ruins on Loch Rangag known as Greysteil Castle (far north-eastern Scotland; see online at <https://her.hIGHLAND.gov.uk/monument/MHG1588>) are often identified as the home of the invincible knight; Purser (2017) “The Epic Romance of Greysteil.”
- ¹¹⁶ Grime in the Percy version, Grahame in the Laing-Huntington one. Grahame is sometimes introduced as Lord of Garwick or Garnwick, toponyms seemingly absent from modern Scotland; Stevenson (1902) “The Romance of Sir Eger, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray-Steele,” 184.
- ¹¹⁷ Stevenson (1902) “The Romance of Sir Eger, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray-Steele,” 185.
- ¹¹⁸ Another Grahame, perhaps, given the near-anagram?
- ¹¹⁹ Stevenson (1902) “The Romance of Sir Eger, Sir Gryme, and Sir Gray-Steele,” 185-193.
- ¹²⁰ Hales & Furnivall (1867) *Eger and Grime – An Early English Romance*, 9.
- ¹²¹ Evans (2001) “Re-Evaluating the Case for a Scottish *Eger and Grime*,” 280-282 & 286.

Chapter 4

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 4 Dec, 2016.

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- ¹ Also known as the Knights Hospitaller, they were the most important of all the religious military orders. They were subsequently called the Knights of Rhodes, and are now commonly known as the Knights of Malta (e.g., New Advent – Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, online at <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/07477a.htm> and Order of Malta – Names of the Order, online at <https://www.orderofmalta.int/history/names-of-the-order/>). As a personal aside – since this book is about family history – my maternal grandfather, Walter C. McCamley (d. 1985), was a District Officer in the St. John Ambulance Brigade (Ireland) who celebrated 50 years service to the organisation in 1971. His father Henry had also been a District Officer. This Order of St. John traces its origins back 900 years to the Knights Hospitaller, and is one of the four Orders of St. John of Jerusalem recognised by the Sovereign Order of Malta as sharing the same mission and historic tradition.
- ² Another knight of his Order had previously written to Nicolas praising Joan, which may have helped recruit him to her side: “Let... your mind exult in the gift of so heavenly a girl, which the Almighty has consented to present in our times. A heavenly Pucelle has come... Joan, I say, the Pucelle, clothed in the dress of a shepherdess, and yet manlike, has come by the command of Almighty God to the King through diverse and formidable routes, without violence, unwounded, unharmed...” Taylor (2006) *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle*, 76.
- ³ From Gower (1893) *Joan of Arc*, ch. 2: “The struggle [for the Tourelles/Tournelles of Orleans] that ensued was fierce and decisive. Inspired by the valour of Joan, the French, who appeared as fresh as before her wound, stormed the bastions and towers of the Tournelles with tremendous energy. Reinforcements had meanwhile arrived from the town, and these attacked the Tournelles in the rear. Passing over the broken arches of the bridge by means of ladders thrown across the masonry, the first man to reach the other bank was a knight of Rhodes, Nicolas de Giresme.”
- ⁴ Brittain (2012) *Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar: Joan of Arc's Scottish Captain*, Kindle locations 797-798.
- ⁵ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince. Le Lignage des Giresme, Chevaliers du Prieuré de France, XIV^e – XVI^e Siècle,” 328, incl. fn.99. The full details are provided at Jeanne d’Arc – Journal du siège d’Orléans, entry for 6 May 1429, online at http://www.stejeannedarc.net/chroniques/jso_mai29.php#notes: “Because when the valiant leaders and armed men remaining in Orleans saw that we wanted to give a new assault, some rushed from the city to the bridge; and because several of its arches were broken, they brought a carpenter and carried gutters and ladders with which they made planks. Seeing that they were not long enough to cover the two ends of a broken arch, they joined a small piece of wood to one of the longer gutters, and did it so well that it held. A very valiant knight called Nicolas de Giresme, of the Order of Rhodes (Order of St. John of Jerusalem), was the first to cross, fully armed, and following his example several more also crossed over. Afterwards we said that it was a miracle of Our Lord more than anything else, because the gutter was incredibly long and narrow, and high in the air without any support. Once passed, they began with their companions, to push the assault which lasted for a short time; as soon as it had begun, the English lost all strength to continue resisting...” Similar details are provided by the Scottish historian Andrew Lang, who calls the perilous gutter traversed by Nicolas the “Brig of Dread.” Lang (1909) *The Maid of France; Being the Story of the Life and Death of Jeanne d’Arc*, 139.
- ⁶ Forbes-Leith (1882) *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France: From their Formation until their Final Dissolution A.D. MCCCXVIII-MDCCCXXX*, vol. 1, 41.
- ⁷ Nicolas de Giresme’s first name also appears as Nicole, Nicolle, etc. In modern French he is usually called Nicole, but since to English speakers that implies a woman, I have here chosen to use Nicolas.
- ⁸ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 320-322 & 326-338.
- ⁹ Jean-Claude Colrat – Les Compagnons d’Armes de Jeanne d’Arc – Nicolas de Giresme, online at Web #008.
- ¹⁰ Brittain (2012) *Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar*, Kindle location 1619.
- ¹¹ This number appears to be a combined total for Nicole de Giresme and Robertson de Croix, who between them commanded 12 men-at-arms, 12 archers/cross-bow men, and 40 infantry; Colrat (2012) “Les

- Compagnons d'Armes de Jeanne la Pucelle," 40. An individual estimate for Nicolas prior to Joan's arrival put him in charge of a mixed company of 16 in November, 1428 (Colrat, 16); another, of 16 or 17 men-at-arms and 6 or 7 archers/cross-bow men at the end of March, 1429 (Colrat, 19).
- ¹² "In the Roll of the Scots Guards in France the name [Graham] appears as Giresme." Black (1946) *The Surnames of Scotland: Their Origin, Meaning, and History*, 323, reproduced at Forebears – Graham Surname Meaning, online at <http://forebears.co.uk/surnames/graham>. The Scots Guard was formed in 1418, and thus encompasses the period of interest. One can readily accept Giresme, with its silent "s," as a Francophone rendering of the distinctively Scots pronunciation of Graham. The idiosyncratic spelling of Scottish names in medieval French manuscripts is addressed by Forbes-Leith (1882) *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France*, vol. 2, 43 & 209. Variant spellings of Giresme include Geresme, Géresme, Giraisme, Giroisme, Giresmes, Gisreme, Girème, Girême, Giraimé (e.g., Geneanet – Giresme, online at <http://www.geneanet.org/genealogie/fr/giresme.htm>; 1; Etienne Pattou (2012) "Famille Quiéret," hosted online at <http://racineshistoire.free.fr/LGN/PDF/Quieret.pdf>; and Le Tourisme au Pays de l'Ourcq – Sous les Valois, online at Web #009. Since "Gi" in an indigenous French word would normally be pronounced "Ji," the G would soon have become articulated as the soft consonant. Occasionally, therefore, one also encounters spellings such as Jeroesme [e.g. Ministère de l'Instruction Publique et des Beaux Arts (1911) *Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France: Départements — Tome XLIV: Caen (Collection Mancel) & Avignon*, 2^e Supplément, 76 & 610].
- ¹³ Michel (1862) *Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Écosse*, vol. 1, 173 fn.3; Forbes-Leith (1882) *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France*, vol. 2, 41 fn.2. Such an event would have been quite plausible under the Auld Alliance between Scotland and France, which dates from the end of the 13th century, and the grant of land in Valois would have been especially likely after 1328, from which time the monarchy belonged to the House of Valois. The problem is that there have actually been de Giresmes in the Valois region of France since at least the middle of the 13th century (see below for details).
- ¹⁴ Hugh Kennedy s. Agnes Maxwell d. Isobel Lindsay d. Giles Stewart s. Isobel Graham.
- ¹⁵ Kennedy's achievements at Baugé (1421) and Verneuil (1424) had caused Charles VII to grant him the right to quarter the arms of France with his family's coat of arms. For this and alternate possibilities, see Brittain (2012) *Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar*, Chs. 16 & 17.
- ¹⁶ It is expected that Hugh Kennedy and Nicolas de Giresme were friends; Brittain (2012) *Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar*, Kindle locations 4484-4485.
- ¹⁷ Maid of Heaven – St. Joan of Arc And The Scots Connection, online at http://www.maidofheaven.com/joanofarc_scots_guards.asp.
- ¹⁸ Edwards (1908) "The Hospitallers in Scotland in the Fifteenth Century." It maintains a Scottish arm to the present day; see West Lothian Archaeology – Knights Hospitaller of the Order of St John of Jerusalem, online at <http://www.armadale.org.uk/preceptory.htm>.
- ¹⁹ Philippe de Giresme was Nicolas' father [Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 320-322 & 340]. In 1399, Philippe was installed by Charles VI as *Premier Ecuyer du Corps du Roi et Maître/Grand-Maître de son Ecurie (Grand Écuyer de France)*, holding the post until at least 1404/1407 [de Sainte-Marie (1733) *Histoire de la Maison Royale de France, et des Grands Officiers de la Couronne*, vol. 8, 470; d'Hozier & d'Hozier de Sérigny (1752) *Armorial Général de la France*, Register 3, pt. 1, s.v. DE CHAMBORANT, 21; Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 316-317]. Philippe's position meant that he was a Great Officer of the Crown, member of the King's Household, Master of the Horse, and superintendent of ceremonies.
- ²⁰ In 1409, Nicolas was received into the Order of St. John of Jerusalem by his uncle Regnault de Giresme, Prior of France for the Order (incumbent 1388-1416), and was granted for life the use of his uncle's facilities at Collac in Rhodes, headquarters of the Order [Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 321]. Nicolas did in fact reside at Rhodes for some years [Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 326].
- ²¹ Brittain (2012) *Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar*, Kindle locations 1095-1104. It is not clear if Philippe de Giresme's duties as "Chief Esquire of the Body" extended to overseeing the personal safety of the monarch. It is well known that, from 1418 onward, this role was fulfilled by the *Garde Écossaise*, the Scots Guard who served as personal bodyguards to the French kings.
- ²² Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 318.

- ²³ A priory with the name Geresme existed at Crépy-en-Valois, and was dependant on the nearby Abbaye Notre-Dame de la Victoire de Senlis; Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 315, fn.3. The Abbey itself dates back to 1222, but the foundation date of this priory, which was dedicated to "St. Appolline," is not apparent; Becquet (1989) "Abbayes et Prieurés – Tome VXIII: Diocèse Actuel de Beauvais (Province de Reims)," 115.
- ²⁴ It is from Crépy-en-Valois that Joan of Arc departed, on 22 May, 1430, on her fateful journey to Compiègne. Brittain (2012) *Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar*, Kindle locations 2661-2664.
- ²⁵ Interestingly, the heraldic colours of de Giresme were originally Or and Sable, identical to that of the Grahams; the Giresme arms consisted of a gold shield bearing a black cross Ancrée (see footnotes to Fig. 4.2 legend). Nicole de Giresme's coat-of-arms, differenced by the use of silver in place of gold, is published by Colrat (2012) "Les Compagnons d'Armes de Jeanne la Pucelle," 72 & 81 (entry 111); also viewable at Jean-Claude Colrat – Nicolas de Giresme, online at Web #008. Curiously, the change in the colour of the field made Nicolas' escutcheon almost indistinguishable from that of Bernard de Bourguignan, a squire from Hainaut [Colrat (2012), 67 & 82, entry 51] who was present among the French at Orléans.
- ²⁶ Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 324 fn.79; also, see Le Tourisme au Pays de l'Ourcq – Sous les Valois, online at Web #009. One other detail is consistent with a link to Multien: as chief of the Priory of France for the Hospitallers, Regnault de Giresme was supposed to reside in the Temple of Paris, but he preferred to live in Meaux, which is just 17 km from May-en-Multien. Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 323.
- ²⁷ Le Tourisme au Pays de l'Ourcq – Sous les Valois, online at Web #009; Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 316.
- ²⁸ [Cassell] (1865) *Cassell's Illustrated History of England*, vol. 1, 577; image online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P577-Joan_of_Arc_at_the_Assult_of_the_Tournelles.jpg.
- ²⁹ Read: fantasy.
- ³⁰ The Giresme arms consisted of a gold shield bearing a black cross Ancrée. Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 324; de la Chenaye-Desbois & Badier (1866) *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse, Contenant les Généalogies, l'Histoire et la Chronologie des Familles Nobles de France*, vol. 9, 166; Guichenon (1650) *Histoire de Bresse et de Bugey*, pt. 3: Indice Armorial – Geresme (no page nos.); Ms. 354 (MM 354), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Le Mans, frontispiece.
- ³¹ Nicolas' personal seal can be seen in BnF Clairambault ref. 53.4035.133. Here the outline of the cross Ancree is by Madboy74, online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Madboy74>, and is reproduced under the Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0. The shield and charges in the figure are from Inkwell Coat of Arms Design Studio Pro (v.1.10.3), downloadable online from http://inkwellideas.com/coat_of_arms/free-version/.
- ³² In December 1263, two serfs were released by Jean de Méricourt, Abott of Saint-Corneille, and became burghers of Crépy-en-Valois. One was named as Pierre, son of Houdomme Vilain de Geresme ("*Petrum, filium Houdommi dicti Vilain de Giresme*") [Société Historique de Compiègne (1977) *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Saint-Corneille de Compiègne*, vol. 3 (1261-1383), 47]. This dating is echoed by modern tourist literature on the region: "Family Girème (Girème or Giresme) is from Valois, in the north of France, and was established in Crépy from the thirteenth century under the surname Geresme," Le Tourisme au Pays de l'Ourcq – Sous les Valois, online at Web #009.
- Another early member of the family is a "*Jehans de Giresme, bourgeois de Crespy*," who is named on a charter of 1329 as the keeper (on behalf of the king) of the Grand Seal of Crépy-en-Valois; de Caix de Saint-Aymour (1898) *Mémoires et Documents pour Servir à l'Histoire des Pays qui Forment Aujourd'hui le Département de l'Oise*, 133. On the basis of a tool figured on the version of the Seal in his charge, this Jean de Giresme is believed to have been a wood-worker such as a carpenter, and most likely a turner (de Caix de Saint-Aymour, 134).
- The first recorded knight of the family is Jean de Giresme, attested in 1369; Roger (2012) "Service de Dieu, Service du Prince," 315. By the end of the 14th / start of the 15th centuries, there were Giresmes in the Seine-et-Marne region adjacent to Valois (e.g., at Multien, and also at Saint Germain-sur-Morin, "the stronghold of de Giresme," where L'Hôtel de Giresme now functions as the town hall) (Roger, 315-316). Around this time, many de Giresmes of uncertain parentage appeared at the court of Charles VI (Roger, 315 fn.3). For example, Charles de Giresme, another bachelor knight, served as the king's chamberlain (Roger, 316), and Nicolas' father, Philippe, served as a squire to the king from 1380 onwards.

- ³³ In the words of the medieval French proverb: “Rats, lice and Scotsmen; you find them the whole world over.” The ancestors of people of Scottish descent “could have left Scotland at any point since the thirteenth century, and they fetched up on every imaginable shore;” Armitage (2005) “The Scottish Diaspora,” 272.
- ³⁴ Political cooperation between Scotland and France dates back to 1173 [Bonner (2002) “Scotland’s ‘Auld Alliance’ with France, 1295-1560;” Mackie (1947) “Henry VIII and Scotland”], the era of Alan/John de Graham (whose line formed the Earldom and Dukedom of Montrose; Figs. 1.1 & 1.7) [Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable – A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, xx], and thus accommodates the need for any such migration to have occurred before the middle of the 13th century.
- ³⁵ Several sources mention a surprising lack of knowledge about the origin of the Giresme name in France, which could be construed as support for it being an import. For example, it is apparently not mentioned in the Departmental Archives of the Oise region, which encompasses Valois [Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 315 fn.3], and the entry for de Giresme in a 19th century heraldic catalogue of French nobility gives their armorial bearings but adds that they are “a family about which we have no memory” [de la Chenaye-Desbois & Badier (1866) *Dictionnaire de la Noblesse*, vol. 9, 166].
- ³⁶ At some early date, and certainly by 1431, the village around the priory Geresme at Crépy-en-Valois was also known as Geresme [Collégiale de Saint-Thomas-le-Martyr-les-Crespy (1884) *Coup d’Oeil sur l’Histoire du Valois, et Principalement de Crépy, sa Capitale, etc.*, 56], and one may reasonably suppose that any burgher from that village could have adopted (or been assigned) the suffix de Geresme/de Giresme. As “L’Église de Sainte Apolline de Geresmes,” the priory was rebuilt in the 17th century; Carlier (1764) *Histoire du Duché de Valois*, vol. 3, book 8, 63.
- ³⁷ A Robert de Giresme from Meaux, near Paris, was reportedly taken to England and imprisoned in the Tower of London in 1424 [Michel (1862) *Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Écosse*, vol. 1, 173 fn.3]. In a curious parallel, his namesake Sir Robert Graham (the protagonist of Chapter 5), who had been educated in Paris in the 1390s, was in 1424 commencing several years of imprisonment in Dunbar Castle; Brown (2004) “Graham, Sir Robert, of Kinpont (d. 1437).” While one might reasonably suspect the French Robert to be a distorted version of the Scottish one, with the English rather than the Scottish monarch re-imagined as the villain, this is not the case. Robert de Giresme was bishop of Meaux at the time when the city fell to Henry V’s troops in 1422; he was indeed taken to England, and died there in 1426; Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 327.
- ³⁸ Himself from the House of Valois, and thus a representative of the region from which the French de Giresmes originated.
- ³⁹ The 13th and final account of Hémon Raguier, the War Treasurer, records this knight as “Pierre de Giresme, ecossois,” thus firmly establishing him as a Scot; Forbes-Leith (1882) *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France*, vol. 1, 158. Elsewhere in Forbes-Leith’s narrative he is called Sir Pierre de Giresme (Forbes-Leith, 43). His Scottish identity and status as a knight is reiterated by Michel (1862) *Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Écosse*, 173. Since then, the primary sources have been republished by many others, e.g. Duquesne (2014) *Agnès Sorel: “La Dame de Beauté.”* Peter was a name with precedents early in the Graham family; e.g., Peter de Graham, of Dalkeith and Abercorn (12th century), son of William de Grame and founder of the “elder line” of Grahams (Fig. 1.1). However, at the time of Charles VII’s coronation, no Peter Graham (Sir or otherwise) is prominent in the Scottish records.
- ⁴⁰ Pierre de Giresme, brother of Nicolas, is attested (in childhood) as Perrinet in 1410 [Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 320, 321 & 340]. He is otherwise absent from the historical record.
- ⁴¹ The reason we can be sure of this is that Pierre de Giresme, a bastard son of Nicolas, was not born until after 1435, and his birth was not legitimised until 1448 [Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 337 & 340]. He went on to become lord of Champlost in Burgundy.
- ⁴² Graham (1914) “The Debatable Land – Part II,” 145.
- ⁴³ Sir Nicholas de Graham, Knight, of Dalkeith (1240-1306); see FamilySearch, online at <https://histfam.familysearch.org//descend.php?personID=177576&tree=Nixon> and Rootsweb – Selected Families and Individuals, online at <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~hwbradley/aqwg1588.htm>.
- ⁴⁴ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 326.
- ⁴⁵ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 328-329.

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- ⁴⁶ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 328-330. Félix Bourlequot accuses Nicolas of despotism and nepotism in Provins; cited in Roger, 330, incl. fn.113.
- ⁴⁷ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 331.
- ⁴⁸ As with the previous coat of arms, read: fantasy.
- ⁴⁹ Terminals are based on the de Giresme arms in Ms. 354 (MM 354), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Le Mans.
- ⁵⁰ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 335, 336 & 335 fn.162. The molette Or was also used by Charles de Giresme; Jean-Claude Colrat – Les Compagnons d’Armes de Jeanne d’Arc – FAQ, online at Web #030. The molette in French arms is now normally 6-pointed and pierced in the centre, but Fox-Davies (1909) [*A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 295-296] says that the Scottish mullet is normally of five points, although if unpierced would be called a star (whereas English mullets are normally unpierced, unless otherwise stated). A five-pointed unpierced form appears to be shown on Nicole’s tomb. Overall, a five-pointed form with a very small central hole seems to be most appropriate, and has the advantage of blending French and Scottish traditions while excluding the English.
- ⁵¹ Jean-Claude Colrat – Nicolas de Giresme & FAQ, online at Web #008 and Web #030. Nicolas’ personal seal can be seen in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Clairambault collection, ref. 53.4035.133.
- ⁵² Supporter: Berry (1828) *Encyclopaedia Heraldica or Complete Dictionary of Heraldry*, vol. 1, cdxxxiv.
- ⁵³ Supporter: Fox-Davies (1909) *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, 418. The wild man, adapted from the version by Sodacan, online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Sodacan>, is reproduced under Creative Commons licence BY-SA 3.0.
- ⁵⁴ Young (2009) “Wodewoses: The (In)Humanity of Medieval Wild Men.”
- ⁵⁵ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 333.
- ⁵⁶ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 332-336.
- ⁵⁷ Wikimedia Commons – File:Crépy-en-Valois (60), château de Geresme (2).jpg, online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cr%C3%A9py-en-Valois \(60\), ch%C3%A2teau de Geresme \(2\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cr%C3%A9py-en-Valois_(60),_ch%C3%A2teau_de_Geresme_(2).jpg).
- ⁵⁸ In 1436; Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 330.
- ⁵⁹ Forbes-Leith (1882) *The Scots Men-at-Arms and Life-Guards in France*, vol. 1, 49; also Barbé (1917) *Margaret of Scotland and the Dauphin Louis: An Historical Study*, 81. To help determine which “laird of Graham” was meant, biographical information from the following resources was used: The Dogs of Menteith – Graham, online at <http://www.doig.net/grahamk.html>, accessed 24 Jan, 2015; The Peerage – Person Page 10824, online at <http://www.thepeerage.com/p10824.htm>; *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, online at <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.sl.nsw.gov.au/view/article/54211/54214?docPos=2>, accessed 24 Jan, 2015; and Rootsweb – Graham, online at <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mainegenie/GRAHAM.htm>.
- ⁶⁰ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 338 & 340; Michel (1862) *Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Écosse*, vol. 1, 173 fn.3 (fn. completed on p.174).
- ⁶¹ The birth of Regnault, a bastard son of Nicole, was legitimised in 1451; see Jean-Claude Colrat – Nicolas de Giresme, online at Web #008.
- ⁶² McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 219.
- ⁶³ Stodart (1881) *Scottish Arms – Being a Collection of Armorial Bearings, A.D. 1370-1678*, vol. 1, “Armorial de Berry,” Pl. 4.
- ⁶⁴ The Heraldry Society of Scotland – Armorial de Berry, online at <http://www.heraldry-scotland.co.uk/berry.html>.
- ⁶⁵ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 219.

Chapter 5

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 4 Dec, 2016.

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- ¹ Brown (2004) “Graham, Sir Robert, of Kinpont (*d.* 1437).”
- ² Brown (2004) “Graham, Sir Robert, of Kinpont (*d.* 1437);” Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 9. As a consolation, Malise was awarded the inferior earldom of Menteith.
- ³ Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh. Online at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:King_James_I_of_Scotland.jpg.
- ⁴ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 216 (Chart 10.8) & 219; image from Boutell (1914) *The Handbook to English Heraldry*, 243.
- ⁵ Brown (2004) “Graham, Sir Robert, of Kinpont (*d.* 1437).”
- ⁶ This synthesis is based upon Susan Abernathy (2013) “The Assassination of King James I of Scotland,” online at <http://thefreelancehistorywriter.com/2013/05/24/the-assassination-of-king-james-i-of-scotland/>, augmented by some details from Brown (2004) “Graham, Sir Robert, of Kinpont (*d.* 1437).”
- ⁷ Catherine’s bravery is mentioned also by Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 9.
- ⁸ Shirley (1999) “The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis,” 42-43.
- ⁹ Campbell (2000) *A History of the Clan Campbell: From Origins to Flodden*, vol. 1, 120-121; Brown (2004) “Graham, Sir Robert, of Kinpont (*d.* 1437);” Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 9.
- ¹⁰ Rossetti (1881) “The King’s Tragedy;” excerpt contains lines 692-705, 711-719 & 728-731.
- ¹¹ Author’s collection.
- ¹² However, since 1831 there has been a “Red Graham” tartan whose colours are red (major) and green (minor), commissioned to reflect the MacNaughton plaid worn by the Great Montrose (Chapter 7) to his execution (see ahead to Fig. 7.4). The Scottish Register of Tartans – Graham Dress (1831), STA ref. 3499, online at <https://www.tartanregister.gov.uk/tartanDetails.aspx?ref=4857>; also Clan Graham – Tartans of the Grahams, online at <http://www.clangrahamsociety.org/aboutthegrahams.html#tartans>.
- ¹³ The Scottish Register of Tartans – Stewart/Stuart of Atholl, STA ref. 802, online at <https://www.tartanregister.gov.uk/tartanDetails.aspx?ref=3950>.
- ¹⁴ Brown (2004) “Stewart, Walter, earl of Atholl (*d.* 1437).”
- ¹⁵ Geni – Sir Robert Graham of Kinpont, online at <https://www.geni.com/people/Sir-Robert-Graham-of-Kinpont/600000002362175484>.
- ¹⁶ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 9.
- ¹⁷ Electric Scotland – A History of Rannoch: Robert Bruce and the Robertsons, online at <http://www.electricscotland.com/history/rannoch7.htm>.
- ¹⁸ Brown (2004) “Graham, Sir Robert, of Kinpont (*d.* 1437).”
- ¹⁹ Brown (1992) “‘That Old Serpent and Ancient of Evil Days’: Walter, Earl of Atholl and the Death of James I.”
- ²⁰ Shirley (1999) “The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis.”
- ²¹ Brown (2004) “Graham, Sir Robert, of Kinpont (*d.* 1437).”
- ²² Connolly (1992) “*The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis: A New Edition*,” 66 (lines 517-529), quoted by Brown (1996) “‘I have Thus Slain a Tyrant’: *The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis* and the Right to Resist in early Fifteenth-Century Scotland.”
- ²³ BBC (2018) *Rise of the Clans*, ep. 2: “Brothers at War,” BBC Pacific Quay Productions, Scotland; 3-part series presented by Neil Oliver, produced and directed by Richard Downes.
- ²⁴ Brittain (2012) *Hugh Kennedy of Ardstinchar*, Kindle locations 2834-2837.
- ²⁵ Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince. Le Lignage des Giresme, Chevaliers du Prieuré de France, XIV^e – XVI^e Siècle,” 331.
- ²⁶ [Newgate Calendar] (1803) “Colonel Edward Marcus Despard *et al.*”
- ²⁷ Jay (2015) *The Unfortunate Colonel Despard*, Kindle location 3377.
- ²⁸ National Portrait Gallery – Edward Marcus Despard, online at <http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw36448/Edward-Marcus-Despard>.
- ²⁹ [Newgate Calendar] (1803) “Colonel Edward Marcus Despard *et al.*”
- ³⁰ Linebaugh & Rediker (2000) *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*, 254-256; also Geni – Colonel Edward Marcus Despard, online

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- at <http://www.geni.com/people/Colonel-Edward-Marcus-Despard/6000000016766520992> and Tumblr – History of the Death Penalty, online at Web #010.
- ³¹ A great-great-granddaughter of George Despard, b. *ca.* 1800, via William Frederick Despard, b. 1827 d. 1905.
- ³² Jay (2015) *The Unfortunate Colonel Despard*, Kindle location 132.
- ³³ [Newgate Calendar] (1803) “Colonel Edward Marcus Despard *et al.*”
- ³⁴ Tumblr – History of the Death Penalty, online at Web #010.
- ³⁵ Capital Punishment U.K. – Horsemonger Lane Gaol, online at <http://www.capitalpunishmentuk.org/horsemon.html>.
- ³⁶ Tumblr – History of the Death Penalty, online at Web #010.
- ³⁷ Jay (2015) *The Unfortunate Colonel Despard*, Kindle location 124.
- ³⁸ It is generally agreed that James I’s death occurred after midnight, and thus on 21 February, 1437; e.g., see Geni – James I of Scotland, online at <https://www.geni.com/people/James-I-of-Scotland/6000000002277472620>.
- ³⁹ McCoog (2012) *The Society of Jesus in Ireland, Scotland, and England, 1589-1597: Building the Faith of Saint Peter Upon the King of Spain’s Monarchy*, 81-84.
- ⁴⁰ Maxwell-Stuart (2001) *Satan’s Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, 158.

Chapter 6

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 4 Dec, 2016.

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- ¹ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 66-84.
- ² In Gaelic, Nic (daughter of...) is the female equivalent of Mac or Mc (son of...).
- ³ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 17.
- ⁴ The first Graeme of Inchbrakie was a son of the 1st Earl of Montrose (Fig. 1.7). His father gave him a charter to Inchbrakie and Aberuthven in June, 1513. Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, 1.
- ⁵ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 69.
- ⁶ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 67.
- ⁷ Jamieson (1896) "A Southern Outpost on the Edge of the Highlands."
- ⁸ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 68; Jamieson (1896) "A Southern Outpost on the Edge of the Highlands."
- ⁹ Jamieson (1896) "A Southern Outpost on the Edge of the Highlands."
- ¹⁰ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 67.
- ¹¹ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 67; Jamieson (1896) "A Southern Outpost on the Edge of the Highlands;" Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 409-410.
- ¹² This was unexpectedly generous of Kate, given that the Laird had dismissed her from his service and his son may have been one of her key persecutors.
- ¹³ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 68; Jamieson (1896) "A Southern Outpost on the Edge of the Highlands;" Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 410.
- ¹⁴ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 411.
- ¹⁵ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 74.
- ¹⁶ A moonstone of blue colour (i.e., a semi-precious gem), as opposed to a true sapphire polished into an oval cabochon (the latter being a misunderstanding that appears in some older accounts and was recently reinforced by Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 68 & 75). Blue moonstone is the most valuable form of this gem and would typically be cut and polished to yield a smooth oval surface, as with Kate's stone. See, e.g., Shop Gemstones – Moonstone, online at <http://www.shopgemstones.com/moonstone.html>.
- ¹⁷ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 74; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 410.
- ¹⁸ WhiteTrinityWitch – Kate McNiven, The Witch of Monzie, post by Alex Graeme, 24 Dec, 2011, online at Web #011; Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 76-77.
- ¹⁹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 410.
- ²⁰ WhiteTrinityWitch – Kate McNiven, online at Web #011.
- ²¹ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 74; Jamieson (1896) "A Southern Outpost on the Edge of the Highlands;" Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 411.
- ²² Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 75.
- ²³ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 70-72.
- ²⁴ To the best of my knowledge, this idea has not previously been suggested. The Vulgate Cycle's *Lestoire de Merlin* (ca. 1215-1230) tells how Merlin became besotted with the Lady of the Lake, whose name was Nimiane, Nenive, Nivian, Vivien, or similar. She promised to love him in exchange for him teaching her his magic, which he did even though his prophetic foresight meant that he knew she would use it against him. She then magically imprisoned him forever in an enchanted tower. [University of Rochester – TEAMS Middle English Texts Series – Prose Merlin – Merlin's Imprisonment and Gawain and the Dwarf Knight, online at <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/conlee-prose-merlin-merlins-imprisonment-and-gawain-and-the-dwarf-knight>]. In the Vulgate's *Suite du Merlin* (ca. 1240), Nimiane magically sealed Merlin into the tomb of two lovers and left him there to die [The Camelot Project, University of Rochester – King Arthur & the Knights of the Round Table – Other Characters of Arthurian Legend – The Lady of the Lake, online at <http://www.kingarthursknights.com/others/ladylake.asp>].
- ²⁵ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 73.
- ²⁶ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 77.
- ²⁷ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 77.

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- ²⁸ WhiteTrinityWitch – Kate McNiven, online at Web #011.
- ²⁹ WhiteTrinityWitch – Kate McNiven, online at Web #011.
- ³⁰ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 70-71.
- ³¹ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 73.
- ³² Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 69.
- ³³ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 77-82.
- ³⁴ The Northern Antiquarian – Witches Stone, Monzie, Crieff, Perthshire (Standing Stone: OS Grid Reference – NN 87980 24321), online at <https://megalithix.wordpress.com/2013/10/06/witchesstone/>.
- ³⁵ Wikimedia Commons – File:Kate Nevin Ghost Tree.jpg, online at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Kate_Nevin_Ghost_Tree.jpg.
- ³⁶ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 82.
- ³⁷ Blair (1845) *The Holocaust; or, The Witch of Monzie*, 79-80.
- ³⁸ Blair (1845) *The Holocaust*, 119-122.
- ³⁹ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 82.
- ⁴⁰ Holder (2011) *Paranormal Perthshire*, 66 & 82.
- ⁴¹ James VI of Scotland (1597) *Daemonologie, In Forme of a Dialogue, Divided into Three Bookes*.
- ⁴² Geller (2013) *Daemonologie and Divine Right: The Politics of Witchcraft in Late Sixteenth Century Scotland*, 15-19.
- ⁴³ National Library of Scotland – Learning Zone – James VI of Scotland’s ‘Daemonologie,’ online at <http://www.nls.uk/learning-zone/literature-and-language/themes-in-focus/witches/source-1>.
- ⁴⁴ “Witchcraft Victim Richie Graham,” hosted online at www.historic-scotland.gov.uk/ritchie-graham.pdf, accessed Sep 2014; this document is extracted from Yeoman (2004) “North Berwick Witches (*act.* 1590–1592).”
- ⁴⁵ Chambers (1858) *Domestic Annals of Scotland – From the Reformation to the Revolution*, vol. 1, 236.
- ⁴⁶ Ryerson University – Excerpts from Joan’s Witch Directory, Section titled “15 April 1591: Graham accuses Bothwell; Grierson dies in prison,” online at Web #012.
- ⁴⁷ Stafford (1992) “Notes on Scottish Witchcraft Cases, 1590-91,” 329-336.
- ⁴⁸ Ryerson University – Excerpts from Joan’s Witch Directory, Section titled “No date, 1591: Graham, Bothwell, Napier & Mackalzean,” online at Web #012.
- ⁴⁹ Ryerson University – Excerpts from Joan’s Witch Directory, Section titled “29 February 1592: Execution of Ritchie Graham,” online at Web #012.
- ⁵⁰ Ryerson University – Excerpts from Joan’s Witch Directory, Section titled “12 August 1593: Bothwell’s trial,” online at Web #012.
- ⁵¹ Wikimedia Commons – File:North Berwick witches.jpg, online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=13223025>.
- ⁵² Chambers (1874) *Domestic Annals of Scotland*, vol. 1, 237.
- ⁵³ Maxwell-Stuart (2001) *Satan’s Conspiracy: Magic and Witchcraft in Sixteenth-Century Scotland*, 153-158 & 166-180.
- ⁵⁴ Ryerson University – Excerpts from Joan’s Witch Directory, Section titled “29 February 1592: Execution of Ritchie Graham,” online at Web #012.
- ⁵⁵ Geller (2013) *Daemonologie and Divine Right*, 19.
- ⁵⁶ Maxwell-Stuart (2001) *Satan’s Conspiracy*, 153; also, Ryerson University – Excerpts from Joan’s Witch Directory, Section titled “No date, 1591 Graham, Bothwell, Napier & Mackalzean,” online at Web #012.
- ⁵⁷ Stafford (1992) “Notes on Scottish Witchcraft Cases, 1590-91,” 238.
- ⁵⁸ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 70-71.
- ⁵⁹ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 72.
- ⁶⁰ Maxwell-Stuart (2001) *Satan’s Conspiracy*, 153-155.
- ⁶¹ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 60.
- ⁶² Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets – The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*, 370.
- ⁶³ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 61.
- ⁶⁴ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 69.
- ⁶⁵ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 58, 64 & 74-75.
- ⁶⁶ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 139.
- ⁶⁷ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 70-76.

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- ⁶⁸ The 11th Laird of Luss; ScotClans – Clan Colquhoun History, online at <http://www.scotclans.com/scottish-clans/clan-colquhoun/colquhoun-history/>.
- ⁶⁹ Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond,” 183-184; Stephen Okeson – The Descendants of Sir Alexander Colquhoun – John Colquhoun, online at Web #013; Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters: An Account.”
- ⁷⁰ Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond,” 182; Stephen Okeson – John Colquhoun, online at Web #013.
- ⁷¹ Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond,” 185-187; Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters.”
- ⁷² CyberClan Kilpatrick – Rossdhu, online at <http://clankilpatrick.com/colquhoun/rossdhu.htm>.
- ⁷³ Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond,” 187-188; Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters;” also Geni – Catherine Graham, Lady of Montrose, online at <https://www.geni.com/people/Catherine-Graham-Lady-of-Montrose/6000000014252132551>.
- ⁷⁴ Stephen Okeson – John Colquhoun, online at Web #013.
- ⁷⁵ Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond;” Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters.”
- ⁷⁶ Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond,” 194.
- ⁷⁷ Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters.”
- ⁷⁸ Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters;” Stephen Okeson – John Colquhoun, online at Web #013.
- ⁷⁹ Stephen Okeson – John Colquhoun, online at Web #013.
- ⁸⁰ Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond,” 193; Stephen Okeson – John Colquhoun, online at Web #013.
- ⁸¹ Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond,” 198-200; Stephen Okeson – John Colquhoun, online at Web #013; Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters.”
- ⁸² Burke (1863) “A Tale of Magic on Lochlomond,” 197-198; Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters.”
- ⁸³ Henderson (2012) “Montrose’s Sisters;” Stephen Okeson – John Colquhoun, online at Web #013.
- ⁸⁴ Davies (2009) *Grimoires: A History of Magic Books*, 138.
- ⁸⁵ Campbell (2011) *A Book of the Offices of Spirits, the Occult Virtue of Plants and Some Rare Magical Charms and Spells*, vii-xvii.
- ⁸⁶ Burns (2014) “An Introduction to the Book of Magic, with Instructions for Invoking Spirits, etc., ca. 1577-1583, Folger Shakespeare Library MS. V.b.26.”
- ⁸⁷ Godwin (1994) *The Theosophical Enlightenment*, 146.
- ⁸⁸ Kotar & Gessler (2011) *Ballooning – A History, 1782-1900*, 101-140.
- ⁸⁹ The Clown King – Mrs. Graham the Aeronaut, post by Gareth H.H. Davies, 12 Jun, 2015, online at <http://ammoodle.org/theclownking/index.php/2015/06/12/mrs-graham-the-aeronaut/>.
- ⁹⁰ The balloons of this era were all filled with coal gas, hydrogen, or a mixture of the two, and therefore were explosively flammable.
- ⁹¹ [Illustrated London News] “Destruction of Mrs. Graham’s Balloon.”
- ⁹² Friends of the Ridgeway – Ballooning on the Ridgeway, online at <http://www.ridgewayfriends.org.uk/ballooning-on-the-ridgeway/>.
- ⁹³ [Sydney Morning Herald] (1851) “Disastrous Accident to a Balloon.”
- ⁹⁴ Crowdsail (Swoon Productions) – UNKNOWN-FORGOTTEN-BRILLIANT - The Story of Mrs. Graham, post by Anna Vilenskaya, 24 Aug, 2012, online at <http://crowdsail.livejournal.com/5286.html>.
- ⁹⁵ Getty Images – The Destruction of the Victoria & Albert balloon, 16 June 1851, online at <http://www.gettyimages.com.au/license/90780243>.
- ⁹⁶ Hamnet – Folger Library Catalog, online at <http://shakespeare.folger.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=228887>.
- ⁹⁷ Hamnet – Folger Library Catalog, online at <http://shakespeare.folger.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?BBID=228887>.
- ⁹⁸ Kotar & Gessler (2011) *Ballooning – A History*, 102.
- ⁹⁹ Kotar & Gessler (2011) *Ballooning – A History*, 136.

Chapter 7

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 11 Dec, 2018.

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- ¹ Scottish National Gallery, cat. PG 998. Wikimedia Commons – File: Attributed to Willem van Honthorst - James Graham, 1st Marquess of Montrose, 1612-1650. Royalist - Google Art Project.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Attributed_to_Willem_van_Honthorst_-_James_Graham,_1st_Marquess_of_Montrose,_1612_-_1650._Royalist_-_Google_Art_Project.jpg.
- ² Scottish National Gallery. Wikimedia Commons – File:John Graham, visc Dundee David Paton.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Graham,_visc_Dundee_David_Paton.jpg.
- ³ National Portrait Gallery, cat. NPG D30871. Wikimedia Commons – File:John Graham, 1st Viscount of Dundee by Burnet Reading.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Graham,_1st_Viscount_of_Dundee_by_Burnet_Reading.jpg.
- ⁴ Callow (2004) “Graham, Richard, First Viscount Preston.”
- ⁵ Magnus Linklater (2004) “Graham, John, First Viscount of Dundee [known as Bonnie Dundee].”
- ⁶ Keltie (1885) *A History of the Scottish Highlands, Highland Clans and Highland Regiments*, vol. 1, 377.
- ⁷ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History – Beginnings to 1901*, vol. 1: A-H, 537.
- ⁸ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 189.
- ⁹ Buchan (1928) *Montrose*, 36.
- ¹⁰ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 191.
- ¹¹ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 537.
- ¹² Formerly in the National Galleries of Scotland online collection. Wikimedia Commons – File:1st Marquess of Montrose.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1st_Marquess_of_Montrose.jpg.
- ¹³ Wikimedia Commons – File:James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose by Henry Pierce Bone.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:James_Graham,_1st_Marquis_of_Montrose_by_Henry_Pierce_Bone.jpg.
- ¹⁴ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 537.
- ¹⁵ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 190.
- ¹⁶ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 190-191.
- ¹⁷ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 538.
- ¹⁸ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 191.
- ¹⁹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 446; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, 134-185.
- ²⁰ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 538; Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 191-192.
- ²¹ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 538.
- ²² Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 538.
- ²³ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 192.
- ²⁴ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 538.
- ²⁵ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 193.
- ²⁶ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 193.
- ²⁷ John Nicoll (1836) *A Diary of Public Transactions and Other Occurrences – Chiefly in Scotland, From January 1650 to June 1667*, 13.
- ²⁸ Marshall (1907) *Scotland's Story – A History of Scotland for Boys and Girls*, plate facing p.346; Wikimedia Commons – File:The Marquis Looked so Handsome, Grand and Grave that Every One had Full of Sad Astonishment.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_marquis_looked_so_handsome,_grand_and_grave_that_every_one_had_full_of_sad_astonishment.jpg.
- ²⁹ Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 836; Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 193.
- ³⁰ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 193.
- ³¹ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 193-194.

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- ³² Wikimedia Commons – File:Montrose-St Giles-20071011.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Montrose-St_Giles-20071011.jpg.
- ³³ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 194.
- ³⁴ BBC News – UK – Burial Honours Robert the Bruce, 24 Jun 1998, online at http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/119036.stm; Goodwin (1998) “Robert the Bruce’s Heart Finds its Final Resting Place.”
- ³⁵ A recent academic analysis treats them as fact rather than fancy. “Parts of Montrose’s body, namely his heart and one of his arms [...] were not buried with the rest of his body in 1661 and they have legacies of their own;” Rachel Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality’: Martyrdom, Memory, and the Marquis of Montrose,” 34; similarly p.40. The story of the heart is given on her p.42-43.
- ³⁶ Duff (1891) “The Story of the Heart of Montrose.”
- ³⁷ B.M. (1917) “The Lost Heart of Montrose.”
- ³⁸ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 42-43, incl. note 37 (p.46).
- ³⁹ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 42-43; Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 819-825.
- ⁴⁰ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 43.
- ⁴¹ Bennett does not mention how Capt. Wheatley-Crowe came to possess the heart, but a Canadian newspaper report mentions that he inherited it *ca.* 1932; [Albany Democrat-Herald] (1952) “Embalmed Heart of Briton Executed in 1650 Awarded Canadian Woman.”
- ⁴² Text panel “Embalmed Heart, Reputedly Belonging to the Marquis of Montrose” at the exhibition “To Win or Lose it All,” Montrose Museum, Scotland, 2012. The exhibition will be discussed later in the main text.
- ⁴³ Fortney (2010) “Entwined Histories – The Creation of the Maisie Hurley Collection of Native Art,” 76.
- ⁴⁴ Brockman (1995) “Exclusionary Tactics: The History of Women and Minorities in the Legal Profession in British Columbia,” 550 (note 127).
- ⁴⁵ Kevin Griffin (2011) “People Really Listened to Her – Maisie Hurley Gave a Voice to First Nations People When it Wasn’t Popular To Do So.”
- ⁴⁶ Griffin (2011) “People Really Listened to Her.”
- ⁴⁷ [Albany Democrat-Herald] (1952) “Embalmed Heart of Briton Executed in 1650 Awarded Canadian Woman.”
- ⁴⁸ [CP News Report] (1952) “Heart of Montrose – Wrapped Up in English Red Tape – May Not Come to Canada,” *Lethbridge Herald* [Alberta], 12 Jan, 2; archived at Newspapers, online at <https://www.newspapers.com/image/63995889/>.
- ⁴⁹ [Calgary Herald] (1962) “People Make News,” *Calgary Herald*, 7 Dec, 18; archived at Newspapers, online at <https://www.newspapers.com/image/481091136/>.
- ⁵⁰ “Scatter my ashes – strew them in the air – Lord! since thou knowest where all these atoms are;” Napier (1838) *Montrose and the Covenanters*, vol. 1, 573.
- ⁵¹ [Calgary Herald] (1962) “People Make News.”
- ⁵² Brockman (1995) “Exclusionary Tactics,” 550 (note 127).
- ⁵³ The daughter of Maisie’s daughter Moira Movanna.
- ⁵⁴ Archive.today capture of a post of 24 May, 2007, from <http://www.billminer.ca/comments.htm>, online at <http://archive.is/CZjmL>.
- ⁵⁵ [Courier] (2012) “Exhibition Pays Tribute to Life of James Graham, First Marquis of Montrose.”
- ⁵⁶ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 43; Text panel “Embalmed Heart, Reputedly Belonging to the Marquis of Montrose” at the exhibition “To Win or Lose it All,” Montrose Museum, 2012.
- ⁵⁷ BBC News – Scotland – Heart Among Exhibits in Marquis of Montrose Collection, 8 Aug, 2012, online at <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-tayside-central-19165945>.
- ⁵⁸ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 43.
- ⁵⁹ A news item in *The Courier* comments that the heart was collected for display by the Chairman of the 1st Marquis of Montrose Society, and that “Mr McVittie made a round trip of 1,000 miles to get it.” [Courier] (2012) “Exhibition Pays Tribute to Life of James Graham, First Marquis of Montrose.”
- ⁶⁰ Instagram – Insta Stalker (Jim Nethery), online at <https://insta-stalker.com/post/BmuCNsRH0bo/>. I am grateful to Jim for additional information relating to this exhibit.
- ⁶¹ Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 820-821.
- ⁶² Sir Alexander Johnston calls it “a large silver urn” and mentions the portrait. A copy of the painting – titled “Portrait of the Lady Elizabeth Erskine” – was included in the exhibition “To Win or Lose it

All,” Montrose Museum, 2012. For Sir Alexander’s words, see Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 820-821.

- ⁶³ That Sir Alexander describes the innermost reliquary of the original set of containers – the steel case – as “little” suggests that, even from the outset, the heart relic may not have consisted of the entire organ. This is especially so if the steel case familiar to Sir Alexander was, as claimed, still the original one (see main text for details). Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 820.
- ⁶⁴ Bennett (2017) ““A Candidate for Immortality,”” 40; Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 829 incl. fn 2 (cont. on p.830).
- ⁶⁵ Bennett (2017) ““A Candidate for Immortality,”” 41.
- ⁶⁶ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm, Pierced with Nail-Holes and a Basket-Hilted Sword, Formerly Preserved in the Family of Graham of Woodhall, Yorkshire, as Relics of James, First Marquis of Montrose,” 65-66; Bennett (2017) ““A Candidate for Immortality,”” 41.
- ⁶⁷ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm,” 65-66; Bennett (2017) ““A Candidate for Immortality,”” 41.
- ⁶⁸ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm,” 65-74.
- ⁶⁹ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm,” 67.
- ⁷⁰ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm,” 68 (Figs. 1-3).
- ⁷¹ Bennett (2017) ““A Candidate for Immortality,”” 41.
- ⁷² Kirkby Malham Info – John William Morkill, online at <http://www.kirkbymalham.info/KMI/calton/morkill.html>.
- ⁷³ Webtrees – Alan Greenwood Morkill, online at <https://www.theblacketts.com/tree/individual.php?pid=I6147&ged=maintree>; MyHeritage – Alan Morkill, online at https://www.myheritage.com/names/alan_morkill.
- ⁷⁴ Bennett (2017) ““A Candidate for Immortality,”” 41-42.
- ⁷⁵ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm,” 65-74.
- ⁷⁶ Kelvingrove Museum, cat. A.1952.31.[3]; see The Glasgow Story – Burrell Collection Photo Library – Basket-hilted sword, online at <https://www.theglasgowstory.com/image/?inum=TGSE00585>; Scott (1980) *European Arms and Armour at Kelvingrove*, 32-33; ScotWars – Scottish Swords Extract, online at http://old.scotwars.com/equip_swords.htm.
- ⁷⁷ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm,” 69.
- ⁷⁸ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm,” 69.
- ⁷⁹ Morkill (1896/7) “Notice of a Human Hand and Forearm,” 69; Scott (1980) *European Arms and Armour at Kelvingrove*, 32.
- ⁸⁰ Scott (1980) *European Arms and Armour at Kelvingrove*, 32.
- ⁸¹ Scott (1980) *European Arms and Armour at Kelvingrove*, 32.
- ⁸² Angus Alive – Montrose Museum – Marquis of Montrose Collection, online at <http://archive.angus.gov.uk/historyaa/museums/montrose/marquis.htm>.
- ⁸³ Clan MacFarlane and Associated Clans Genealogy – James Graham, 5th Earl & 1st Marquess of Montrose, online at <https://www.clanmacfarlanegenealogy.info/genealogy/TNGWebsite/showmedia.php?mediaID=1549&medialinkID=1628>.
- ⁸⁴ Maxwell-Scott (1893) *Abbotsford: The Personal Relics and Antiquarian Treasures of Sir Walter Scott*, 19.
- ⁸⁵ Maxwell-Scott (1893) *Abbotsford*, 21. A grammatically more correct version appears in Brydall (1905) “Inscribed Mottoes, etc., on Arms and Armour,” 12.
- ⁸⁶ I am indebted to Drs. Trevor Evans and Kerry Peardon (Macquarie University, Sydney) for expert help in translating the inscription. Some of the Latin words are abbreviated and/or corrupt, and the grammar not entirely straightforward; any errors in the interpretation are my own. I am grateful to Heather Johnson (also of Macquarie University) for providing assistance with the translation that informed the pre-publication release of this chapter in 2018 (Excerpt 4; see Table 0.1).
- ⁸⁷ Maxwell-Scott (1893) *Abbotsford*, plate between p.22 & 23.
- ⁸⁸ Treasure (1998) *Who’s Who in British History*, vol. 1, 538. Reproduced here under Licence ID 4482981050243 (Order 71700557) from the Copyright Clearance Center.
- ⁸⁹ Stevenson (2004) “Graham, James, First Marquess of Montrose,” 194-195. Reproduced here under licence from Oxford Publishing via PLSclear, ref. 8863.
- ⁹⁰ Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott’s Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 215-219.

- ⁹¹ *Minstrelsy* Educational Website – Covenanter Ballads – The Gallant Grahams, online at <http://walterscott.eu/education/ballads/covenanting-ballads/the-gallant-grahams/>.
- ⁹² Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 225.
- ⁹³ Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 225; *Minstrelsy* Educational Website – Covenanter Ballads – The Gallant Grahams, online at <http://walterscott.eu/education/ballads/covenanting-ballads/the-gallant-grahams/>.
- ⁹⁴ Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 222.
- ⁹⁵ Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 227-231; *Minstrelsy* Educational Website – Covenanter Ballads – “The Gallant Grahams” Text, online at <http://walterscott.eu/education/ballads/covenanting-ballads/the-gallant-grahams/975-2/>.
- ⁹⁶ The 1st Marquis of Montrose Society – Poems, online at <http://montrose-society.ndo.co.uk/poems.htm>.
- ⁹⁷ Text: Bibliomania – “I’ll Never Love Thee More” by James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, online at <http://www.bibliomania.com/0/2/277/1977/26255/1/frameset.html>. Verse count: The 1st Marquis of Montrose Society – Poems, online at <http://montrose-society.ndo.co.uk/poems.htm>.
- ⁹⁸ Burns Scotland – The ‘Scots Musical Museum’ - Volume V, song 452, page 464 – ‘I’ll never love thee more,’ online at <http://burnsscotland.com/items/v/volume-v.-song-452.-page-464-ill-never-love-thee-more.aspx>.
- ⁹⁹ Yale Center for British Art – Personal Message from the C-in-C: To be Read Out to All Troops, online at <https://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/4427833>; Mayo (2014) *D-Day – Minute by Minute*, 154.
- ¹⁰⁰ The 1st Marquis of Montrose Society, online at <http://www.montrose-society.org.uk/>.
- ¹⁰¹ Audio with lyrics and still photos at YouTube – Steeleye Span – Montrose (long version with lyrics), online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KLce6Hi6gD0>; Album details and song lyrics at Mainly Norfolk: English Folk and Other Good Music – Songs – Steeleye Span: Montrose, online at <https://mainlynorfolk.info/steeleye.span/songs/montrose.html>.
- ¹⁰² Album details at Music Scotland – Battlefield Band – On The Rise, online at <https://www.musicscotland.com/cd/Battlefield-Band-On-Rise.html>; Lyrics at MySongBook – Henry’s Songbook – Montrose, online at <http://mysongbook.de/msb/songs/m/montrose.html>. Audio of a version of the song, sung by its composer Brian McNeill (one of the Battlefield Band members) is available at YouTube – Montrose by Brian McNeill, online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UZp8BmG02as>.
- ¹⁰³ The 1st Marquis of Montrose Society Newsletter, Jun, 2012, 1-2, online at <http://montrose-society.ndo.co.uk/pdf/Newsletter%20June%202012.pdf>.
- ¹⁰⁴ The 1st Marquis of Montrose Society Newsletter, Oct, 2012, 1-2, online at <http://montrose-society.ndo.co.uk/pdf/Newsletter%20October%202012.pdf>; [Courier] (2012) “Exhibition Pays Tribute to Life of James Graham, First Marquis of Montrose;” BBC News – Scotland – Heart Among Exhibits in Marquis of Montrose Collection, 8 Aug, 2012, online at <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-tayside-central-19165945>.
- ¹⁰⁵ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 44.
- ¹⁰⁶ Montrose was “betrayed [...] by Charles, who had signed an agreement with Argyll and the Covenanting government without effective provision for Montrose’s life and security;” Treasure (1998) *Who’s Who in British History*, vol. 1, 538. Similarly, Charles VII of France “was not going to throw away good money on Joan just so she could come back to court and bother him again;” Goldstone (2013) *The Maid and the Queen – The Secret History of Joan of Arc*, 161.
- ¹⁰⁷ Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 769-809; Trask (1996) *Joan of Arc – In her Own Words*, 87-144.
- ¹⁰⁸ Of Montrose, “some in the crowd were moved by his dignity and courage in the face of his ordeal, and various commentators spoke of a ‘tense air of sympathy and startled admiration’ for him. [...] After hanging for three hours, Montrose’s body was cut down and his head and limbs were cut off with an axe – a scene that was met with sounds of regret from the crowd;” Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 27-38. Even the hangman wept, according to Napier (1856) *Memoirs of the Marquis of Montrose*, vol. 2, 809. Similarly, “[T]he duration of Joan’s agony was prolonged even beyond that which was common for the ordeal. In the over half an hour that it took for her to die in the smoke and flames she continued to beg her angels for mercy and to proclaim her faith in God [...] and ‘[a]lmost all wept with pity,’ recounted an onlooker;” Goldstone (2013) *The Maid and the Queen*, 184.
- ¹⁰⁹ Lang (1906) *The Story of Joan of Arc*, 93.

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- ¹¹⁰ Goldstone (2013) *The Maid and the Queen*, 184.
- ¹¹¹ Wikimedia Commons – File:James Graham, 1st Marquis of Montrose statue, Montrose.JPG, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:James_Graham,_1st_Marquis_of_Montrose_statue,_Montrose.JPG. Adapted slightly to remove the end of a bright red park bench from background at lower right.
- ¹¹² Goldstone (2013) *The Maid and the Queen*, 246.
- ¹¹³ Goldstone (2013) *The Maid and the Queen*, 243.
- ¹¹⁴ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 34.
- ¹¹⁵ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 40.
- ¹¹⁶ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 39.
- ¹¹⁷ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 39.
- ¹¹⁸ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 44.
- ¹¹⁹ Bennett (2017) “‘A Candidate for Immortality,’” 44.
- ¹²⁰ Information in this section has primarily been distilled from Linklater (2004) “Graham, John, First Viscount Dundee.”
- ¹²¹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 446
- ¹²² McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 446.
- ¹²³ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 446.
- ¹²⁴ National Galleries of Scotland online collection, cat. PG2183. Wikimedia Commons – File:1st Viscount Dundee.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:1st_Viscount_Dundee.jpg.
- ¹²⁵ National Trust, Nostell Priory, cat. 959414. Wikimedia Commons – File:John Graham of Claverhouse, 1st Viscount Dundee, ‘Bonnie Dundee’ by PeterLely.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Graham_of_Claverhouse,_1st_Viscount_Dundee,_%27Bonnie_Dundee%27_by_Peter_Lely.jpg.
- ¹²⁶ National Trust Scotland, Fyvie Castle, cat. 84.62. Wikimedia Commons – File:John Graham, 1st Viscount Dundee by John Alexander.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Graham,_1st_Viscount_Dundee_by_John_Alexander.jpg.
- ¹²⁷ Aberdeen University, cat. ABDUA 30235. Wikimedia Commons – File:John Graham of Claverhouse (1648–1689), 7th Laird of Claverhouse, Later 1st Viscount of Dundee, by Unknown Artist.jpg, online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Graham_of_Claverhouse_\(1648%E2%80%931689\),_7th_Laird_of_Claverhouse,_Later_1st_Viscount_of_Dundee,_by_Unknown_Artist.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:John_Graham_of_Claverhouse_(1648%E2%80%931689),_7th_Laird_of_Claverhouse,_Later_1st_Viscount_of_Dundee,_by_Unknown_Artist.jpg).
- ¹²⁸ Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, cat. 485. Wikimedia Commons – File:The Covenanters, Preaching.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:The_Covenanters%27_Preaching.jpg.
- ¹²⁹ Linklater (2004) “Graham, John, First Viscount Dundee,” 217.
- ¹³⁰ Linklater (2004) “Graham, John, First Viscount Dundee,” 218.
- ¹³¹ Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, cat. 3099. Wikimedia Commons – File:GL GM 3099.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:GL_GM_3099.jpg.
- ¹³² Linklater & Hesketh (1992) *Bonnie Dundee: John Graham of Claverhouse – For King and Conscience*, 159.
- ¹³³ Linklater (2004) “Graham, John, First Viscount Dundee,” 215; Maclaren (1907) *Graham of Claverhouse*, 49.
- ¹³⁴ Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott’s Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 252-253.
- ¹³⁵ Napier (1859) *Memorials and Letters Illustrative of the Life and Times of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee*, vol. 1, vii-xlvi.
- ¹³⁶ Treasure (1998) *Who’s Who in British History*, vol. 1, 540.
- ¹³⁷ Scott (1846) *The Waverley Novels*, vol. 1, “Old Mortality,” 52 [pagination restarts with each novel in the compendium].
- ¹³⁸ Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott’s Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 289.
- ¹³⁹ Scott (1846) *The Waverley Novels*, vol. 1, “Old Mortality,” 52 fn.
- ¹⁴⁰ Linklater & Hesketh (1992) *Bonnie Dundee*, 220.
- ¹⁴¹ DD Tours – Bonnie Dundee, post of 9 Jan, 2015, online at <https://www.ddtours.co.uk/author/webmaster/page/9/>.
- ¹⁴² Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott’s Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 289.

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- ¹⁴³ Maxwell-Scott (1893) *Abbotsford*, 23-24.
- ¹⁴⁴ Linklater (2004) "Graham, John, First Viscount Dundee," 220.
- ¹⁴⁵ Boyd Harris (Lancashire): Travel Photography, Trekking, Local History and Other Things, post of 23 Jun, 2016, online at http://www.boydharris.co.uk/snap_blog16/snaps1606.htm.
- ¹⁴⁶ National Museums Scotland – Record: Gloves Worn by John Graham, Viscount Dundee, cat. Q.L.1982.1 B; online at <http://nms.scran.ac.uk/database/record.php?usi=000-100-102-947-C>.
- ¹⁴⁷ Wikimedia Commons – File:Grave of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee - geograph.org.uk - 1433405.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Grave_of_John_Graham_of_Claverhouse,_Viscount_Dundee_-_geograph.org.uk_-_1433405.jpg.
- ¹⁴⁸ Maxwell-Scott (1893) *Abbotsford*, detail of plate between p.24 & 25.
- ¹⁴⁹ Keltie (1885) *A History of the Scottish Highlands*, vol. 1, plate between p.376-377.
- ¹⁵⁰ Linklater (2004) "Graham, John, First Viscount Dundee," 220-221. Reproduced here under licence from Oxford Publishing via PLSclear, ref. 8864.
- ¹⁵¹ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands: James Philp's *Grameid* and the Traditions of Ancient Epic," 190.
- ¹⁵² Line lengths for Books I-VI are 794, 729, 762, 807, 748 and 55, respectively.
- ¹⁵³ His 19th-century editor, Alexander Murdoch, laments that "The time thrown away on his First Book, and the concluding passage of the Fifth, would have given us Killiecrankie," from which it seems that he agrees with John Drummond of Balhaldy that the work was unfinished; Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid – An Heroic Poem Descriptive of the Campaign of Viscount Dundee in 1689, and Other Pieces*, xxxiii & xl. Houghton too calls the work "unfinished" [Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 190] but also speaks of "the surviving books of Philp's poem" [p.191].
- ¹⁵⁴ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, xxvii-xxxii.
- ¹⁵⁵ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*.
- ¹⁵⁶ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, ix. In Latin, the poet styles himself "Panurgi Philocaballi," the logic of which has been decrypted by Murdoch [p.xxxiv].
- ¹⁵⁷ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, ix.
- ¹⁵⁸ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, xxi.
- ¹⁵⁹ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 190.
- ¹⁶⁰ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 192.
- ¹⁶¹ The title may also be considered a reference to George Bernard Shaw's play *Arms and the Man*, a comedy that exposes the futility of war and deals humorously with the hypocrisy of human nature. There are many editions currently in print, e.g. the Penguin Classics edition, Shaw (2006) *Arms and the Man*.
- ¹⁶² Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 200.
- ¹⁶³ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 192.
- ¹⁶⁴ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 197.
- ¹⁶⁵ Pittock (1994) *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland*, 39.
- ¹⁶⁶ Pittock (1994) *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 41-42.
- ¹⁶⁷ Pittock (1994) *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 39-40.
- ¹⁶⁸ Pittock (1994) *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 40.
- ¹⁶⁹ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 193.
- ¹⁷⁰ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 193.
- ¹⁷¹ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, xl.
- ¹⁷² Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, 220-222.
- ¹⁷³ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, 40-41.
- ¹⁷⁴ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, 40-41.
- ¹⁷⁵ Sir John Graham of Dundaff; Chapter 3.
- ¹⁷⁶ A reference to the descent of Graham of Fintry (and thus Claverhouse) from William Graham of Mugdock's marriage to Mary Stewart, daughter of King Robert III (Fig. 1.7); Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, 41, fn.3.
- ¹⁷⁷ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 200.
- ¹⁷⁸ Pittock (1994) *Poetry and Jacobite Politics*, 41.
- ¹⁷⁹ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, 120 (Book IV, lines 35-38); Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 201-202.

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- ¹⁸⁰ Houghton (2012) "Lucan in the Highlands," 202.
- ¹⁸¹ Murdoch (1888) *The Grameid*, 45-46.
- ¹⁸² Wordpress – SetInThePast: Historical Novels, Films and TV Programmes – The Grameid by James Philip, post of 17 Oct, 2014; online at <https://setinthepast.wordpress.com/2014/10/17/the-grameid-by-james-philip/>.
- ¹⁸³ Chisholm (1911) "Dundee," 676.
- ¹⁸⁴ Lockhart (1861) *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, vol. 12, 194-197.
- ¹⁸⁵ Reverse peals were used to signal an alarm.
- ¹⁸⁶ "Every old woman was scolding and shaking her head."
- ¹⁸⁷ A medieval canon of exceptionally large calibre at Edinburgh Castle.
- ¹⁸⁸ Gentry of the Scottish Highlands; from Gaelic *duine uasal* (noble person) with English plural suffix "s."
- ¹⁸⁹ For an audio performance, visit YouTube – Irish Rovers – Bonnie Dundee, online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zKPCdWFNUaA>.
- ¹⁹⁰ For an audio performance, visit YouTube – Bobby Horton – Riding a Raid, online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LTqqAWRftNg>.
- ¹⁹¹ Scott (1846) *The Waverley Novels*, vol. 1, "Old Mortality."
- ¹⁹² Grierson (1932-1937) *The Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, vol. 9, 355.
- ¹⁹³ Linklater (2004) "Graham, John, First Viscount Dundee," 220-221.
- ¹⁹⁴ Henderson (1902) *Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, vol. 2, 249-267.
- ¹⁹⁵ Chisholm (1911) "Ian Maclaren."
- ¹⁹⁶ Daiches (1971) *The Penguin Companion to Literature*, vol. 1: *Britain and the Commonwealth*, 157.
- ¹⁹⁷ Nash (2007) *Kailyard and Scottish Literature*, 182.
- ¹⁹⁸ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 25; David Gates (2004) "Graham, Thomas, Baron Lynedoch."
- ¹⁹⁹ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 540.
- ²⁰⁰ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 539.
- ²⁰¹ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 539.
- ²⁰² Parry (2004) "Graham, Sir James Robert George, Second Baronet," 209.
- ²⁰³ Treasure (1998) *Who's Who in British History*, vol. 1, 539.
- ²⁰⁴ Fry (2004) "Graham, James, Sixth Duke of Montrose."
- ²⁰⁵ Smith (1954) "From All Quarters – Aircraft-Carrier Pioneer."
- ²⁰⁶ Smith (1954) "From All Quarters – Aircraft-Carrier Pioneer."
- ²⁰⁷ Smith (1954) "From All Quarters – Aircraft-Carrier Pioneer."
- ²⁰⁸ Bulloch (1908) *The Gay Gordons – Some Strange Adventures of a Famous Scots Family*, 1.
- ²⁰⁹ YouTube – Gallant Grahams – online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-XITp49kdwM>. The lyrics are also provided at this webpage.
- ²¹⁰ Discogs – Alan Reid & Brian McNeill (2) – Sidetracks, online at <https://www.discogs.com/Alan-Reid-Brian-McNeill-Sidetracks/master/1293354>.
- ²¹¹ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 31-32.

Chapter 8

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- ¹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets – The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*, 3.
- ² Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 60.
- ³ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 275; Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 71.
- ⁴ The Barony of Liddel contained the Debateable Land and the adjacent forest of Liddel, also known as Nichol Forest. Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 55.
- ⁵ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union – Destruction of the Graham Clan*, 106.
- ⁶ Graham (1912) “The Debateable Land,” 37; O’Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 231.
- ⁷ This is probably an exaggeration; Grahams first appear in public records relating to Cumberland in 1528 [Graham (1914) “The Debateable Land – Part II, 148].
- ⁸ Graham (1930) “The Grahams of Esk,” 224.
- ⁹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 275.
- ¹⁰ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 340.
- ¹¹ Sneyd (2009) *Rich Man, Poor Man, Beggarman, Thief*, 102.
- ¹² Sources include Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” Graham (1912) “The Debateable Land,” O’Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 231-234. For details of minor branches of the Border Grahams not covered in this figure – the Grahams of Gillesbie, Thornik, Langbedholm and Blaattwood – see Reid (1961) “The Border Grahams, their Origin and Distribution,” 92-113.
- ¹³ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 68.
- ¹⁴ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 189.
- ¹⁵ Assembled from Graham (1912) “The Debateable Land,” maps facing p.49 & 56; Graham (1914) “The Debateable Land – Part II,” maps facing p.133 & p.148; frontispiece map (inset) in Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, and modern placenames cognate with those of the 16th century.
- ¹⁶ Graham (1914) “The Debateable Land – Part II,” 148 fn.
- ¹⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 189 & 359.
- ¹⁸ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 190-191.
- ¹⁹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 57.
- ²⁰ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 178.
- ²¹ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 67.
- ²² Graham (1914) “The Debateable Land – Part II,” 150.
- ²³ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 115.
- ²⁴ The relationship of these individuals to those in Fig. 8.1 is uncertain, and even T.H.B. Graham was unable to position the Grahams of Peartree in the pedigree. He contends that Jock of the Peartree lived at a place of that name at Randilinton (Randylinton, Fig. 8.2), a site on the R. Leven (now R. Lyne) different to the Peartree associated with Hutcheon’s line (far right, Fig. 8.1). Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 61.
- ²⁵ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 194.
- ²⁶ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 350.
- ²⁷ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 66-67.
- ²⁸ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 194.
- ²⁹ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 15; Koufopoulos (2004) *The Cattle Trades of Scotland, 1603-1745*, 182-183.
- ³⁰ Banks & Blackhall (2014) *Scottish Urban Myths and Ancient Legends: The Black Flag of Loch Maree and Other Stories*, section titled “Stirlingshire,” Walker (1997) *Recollections of a Tour Made in Scotland by Dorothy Wordsworth*, Appendix 5.
- ³¹ Koufopoulos (2004) *The Cattle Trades of Scotland, 1603-1745*, 17-18.
- ³² O’Brien (2005) “Robert ‘Rob Roy’ MacGregor: Outlaw and Folk hero.”
- ³³ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 15.
- ³⁴ O’Brien (2005) “Robert ‘Rob Roy’ MacGregor.”
- ³⁵ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 15; Banks & Blackhall (2014) *Scottish Urban Myths and Ancient Legends*, section titled “Stirlingshire.”
- ³⁶ O’Brien (2005) “Robert ‘Rob Roy’ MacGregor.”
- ³⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 340.
- ³⁸ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 326.

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- ³⁹ Graham (1914) "The Debatable Land – Part II," 141; Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 326-328.
- ⁴⁰ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 328-330.
- ⁴¹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 328-331.
- ⁴² Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 341-332.
- ⁴³ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 332-333.
- ⁴⁴ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 334.
- ⁴⁵ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 332.
- ⁴⁶ Graham (1914) "The Debatable Land – Part II," 142.
- ⁴⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 334.
- ⁴⁸ Graham (1912) "The Debateable Land," 38-39.
- ⁴⁹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 227-228, fn.2
- ⁵⁰ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 336, incl. fn.6.
- ⁵¹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 336, fn.6; Graham (1914) "The Debatable Land – Part II," 142.
- ⁵² Minstrelsy Educational Website – Reiver Ballads – Kinmont Willie, online at <http://walterscott.eu/education/ballads/reiver-ballads/kinmont-willie/the-ballad-kinmont-willie/>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁵³ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 339.
- ⁵⁴ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 340.
- ⁵⁵ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 325 & 340.
- ⁵⁶ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 342.
- ⁵⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 362.
- ⁵⁸ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 198 gives the number as 200 rather than 2000.
- ⁵⁹ Graham (1914) "The Debatable Land – Part II," 142-143.
- ⁶⁰ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 362.
- ⁶¹ Groundwater (2010) *The Scottish Middle March, 1573-1625: Power, Kinship, Allegiance*, 115.
- ⁶² Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 198-199.
- ⁶³ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 360-361.
- ⁶⁴ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 360.
- ⁶⁵ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 125.
- ⁶⁶ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 126-136.
- ⁶⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 364.
- ⁶⁸ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 364-365.
- ⁶⁹ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 138.
- ⁷⁰ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 365.
- ⁷¹ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 150-151.
- ⁷² Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 153-156.
- ⁷³ This despite the fact that James, then James VI of Scotland, had at the time delighted in the success of the raid. Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 176.
- ⁷⁴ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 365.
- ⁷⁵ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 139-140.
- ⁷⁶ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 368.
- ⁷⁷ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 186, 189-193.
- ⁷⁸ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 368-369.
- ⁷⁹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 369.
- ⁸⁰ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 369.
- ⁸¹ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 188.
- ⁸² Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 370.
- ⁸³ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 370.
- ⁸⁴ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 370.
- ⁸⁵ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 196.
- ⁸⁶ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 194.
- ⁸⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 370.
- ⁸⁸ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 196.
- ⁸⁹ Graham (1911) "The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants," 71-75.
- ⁹⁰ Graham (1914) "The Debatable Land – Part II," 152.
- ⁹¹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 371.

- ⁹² Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 165.
- ⁹³ Graham (1930) "The Grahams of Esk," 225.
- ⁹⁴ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 196.
- ⁹⁵ Graham (1912) "The Debateable Land," 52 & 58; Graham (1911) "The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants," 79-80. Plomp itself was in the Debateable Land [Fig. 8.2 & Graham (1911) "The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants," 79], and the Grahams of Plomp appeared to be no better behaved than Lang Will's brood [Graham (1911) "The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants," 66-67 & 82; Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 138; Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 153], which leaves one wondering how this family of Grahams managed to avoid deportation in 1606/7. However it was achieved, Richard stayed on at the Border and had been pardoned by 1617 [Graham (1912) "The Debateable Land," 52]. As a protégé of two of the most powerful men of the time – Menteith and Buckingham – he became a favourite of the king.
- ⁹⁶ Graham (1912) "The Debateable Land," 52-53.
- ⁹⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 379.
- ⁹⁸ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 371.
- ⁹⁹ Sources include: Graham (1912) "The Debateable Land," Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," O'Hart, *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 231-234; Clan Graham Society website, online at www.ClanGrahamSociety.org, accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹⁰⁰ Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 153-155; Foster (1891) *Pedigrees Recorded at the Heralds' Visitations of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland*, 54.
- ¹⁰¹ O'Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 231.
- ¹⁰² Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, xx, fn.2.
- ¹⁰³ The seventh or eighth, depending on whether one considers Peter to be the first or second generation. For consistency with Chapter 1, we shall take Peter to be the second generation.
- ¹⁰⁴ Stevenson (1903) "The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams," 177.
- ¹⁰⁵ Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 144-146.
- ¹⁰⁶ Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 145.
- ¹⁰⁷ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland's Historic Heraldry*, 99-100.
- ¹⁰⁸ Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 145-146.
- ¹⁰⁹ Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 146.
- ¹¹⁰ William of Moskesen, attested 1476 & 1480; Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 147-149. For a detailed treatment of this individual's likely trajectory, see Reid (1961) "The Border Grahams," 85-92 & 104-105. Reid accepts (p.85) an origin of the Border Grahams in the "elder line," i.e., the one descended from Peter de Graham, elder son of William de Grame.
- ¹¹¹ Reid (1961) "The Border Grahams," 92: "a fess between three scallops, two and one."
- ¹¹² As indicated in the figure, the "elder line" is the one derived from Peter de Graham, elder son of William de Grame; the "younger line" is the one derived from Alan (John), the younger son.
- ¹¹³ Graham (1911) "The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants," 70-71.
- ¹¹⁴ Mentioned previously in this chapter as Richard Graham, son of Fergus of Plomp.
- ¹¹⁵ The Herald's College for English arms, the Lyon Court for Scottish ones.
- ¹¹⁶ There are at least two variants of the false pedigree, one via Malise's son John "the bright sword" of Kilbride, the other via Malise's son Alexander. Graham (1911) "The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants," 71 & 80-82; Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 154-155; O'Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 231.
- ¹¹⁷ Fergus was the son of William of Carlisle and grandson of Lang Will. Fergus's descendants are detailed in Nicolson & Burn (1777) *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. 2, 431.
- ¹¹⁸ Foster (1891) *Pedigrees Recorded*, 54-55; Graham (1911) "The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants," 71 & 80-82; Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 154-155.
- ¹¹⁹ Synthesized mainly from Fig. 1.1, Graham (1914) "The Debateable Land – Part II," 143-147 and Stevenson (1903) "The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams," 176-187. The two archers (late 14th / early 15th century, at far left of tree) are drawn from Universities of Reading & Southampton – The Soldier in Later Medieval England – Database search, online at <https://research.reading.ac.uk/medievalsoldier/dbsearch/>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹²⁰ The Menteith coat of arms consists of the Montrose shield/scallops quartered with Stewart of Strathearn; see Fig. 1.15.

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- ¹²¹ Graham (1914) “The Debatable Land – Part II,” 154; Foster (1891) *Pedigrees Recorded*, 55.
- ¹²² Foster (1891) *Pedigrees Recorded*, 54. These arms were later re-granted to Richard of Plomp’s grandson Richard, Viscount of Preston, by which time the border and crescent had been removed, leaving just arms of Menteith.
- ¹²³ E.g., The Stewart Society – Bannockburn Genetic Genealogy Project, online at <http://www.stewartociety.org/bannockburn-genetic-genealogy-project.cfm>; DNA Study – Clan Irwin Surname DNA Study, online at <http://dnastudy.clanirwin.org/main-findings>; Tyrone Bowes (2013) “Pinpointing the Hamilton Scottish Paternal Ancestral Genetic Homeland – A Scottish Case Study,” online at http://harfordenterprises.com.au/persistent/catalogue_files/products/hamiltoncasestudydrtyronebowes.pdf; all URLs accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹²⁴ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹²⁵ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹²⁶ In particular, all of them have DYS388=15 and YCAII=22-22
- ¹²⁷ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003; accessed 7 Aug, 2018. This represents an increase over the 15 families counted in Dec 2010, Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 7 Aug, 2018.
- ¹²⁸ Genealogy.com – Home – Forum – Surnames – Clan Nethery, post by y genealogy.com user of 26 Feb, 1999, online at <http://genforum.genealogy.com/nethery/messages/82.html>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹²⁹ Independent of surname, the Single Nucleotide Polymorphisms (SNPs) defining R1b and its commonest sub-clades in Scotland/Ireland are, from senior to junior, M343>P297>M269>L23> ... >P312>L21. Specifically, the most common European subclade is L23; the most common R1b subclade in Scotland/Ireland is P312, and within that L21. In Aug 2018, 8 of the 9 testers claiming Nethery ancestry in the Graham Surname DNA Project had not been sub-typed beyond SNP M269, but the close similarity in all the Nethery STR values suggests they are related.
- ¹³⁰ ySearch – online at <http://www.ysearch.org/>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015. ySearch closed in May 2018 as it was unable to comply with new EU laws relating to digital privacy – the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) legislation.
- ¹³¹ These probably are descended from Richard Graham of Plomp rather than the Lang Will Graham of Stuble, as they trace their ancestry back to a William Graham of Canonbie, b.1648. As mentioned in Fig. 8.3, Richard of Plomp acquired Netherby in 1628, becoming Sir Richard of Esk in 1628/9; Sir Richard then re-populated the region from which Lang Will’s descendants had been banished in 1606/7 with his own line of Grahams [Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 79-80].
- ¹³² Independent of surname, the SNPs defining R1b and its commonest sub-clades in Scotland/Ireland are, from senior to junior, M343>P297>M269>L23> ... >P312>L21. Specifically, the most common European subclade is L23; the most common R1b subclade in Scotland/Ireland is P312, and within that L21. The Canonbie Graham entries in ySearch provided only phylogenetic strings with no test date or terminal SNP data. This complicates the interpretation, as there is currently no haplotype-to-haplogroup subclade prediction program for R1b (i.e., an application that converts an STR profile to a current phylogenetic string or defining SNP). The short string (a 30-STR from Ancestry.com; user 5NBGH) claimed to be R1*, i.e. M343 without P297, which is extremely rare; since their STR profile is considered “probably related” to the other Canonbie Graham (see the next note; an impossibility if the short string really is R1b*), we can safely assume that it is just a misreporting of R1b. The longer string is R1b1a2a1a1b from a 37-STR Family Tree DNA test (user JU6E8); it is almost certainly a test undertaken in 2011 or 2012, and thus haplogroups as R-P312 (R1b1a2a1a2 in 2014 nomenclature), without information as to L21 status.
- ¹³³ Genetic Distance (GD) = 2, for a 27 marker panel. A GD = 2 for a 25 marker panel (with shared surname) means “Probably related: may share a common male ancestor within the genealogical time frame (15 generations); the probability of a relationship is good” so this is the minimum interpretation for the Canonbie result. See Family Tree DNA – Learning Center – If Two Men Share a Surname, How Should the Genetic Distance at 25 Y-Chromosome STR Markers be Interpreted?, online at

- <https://www.familytreedna.com/learn/y-dna-testing/y-str/two-men-share-surname-genetic-distance-25-y-chromosome-str-markers-interpreted/>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹³⁴ Family Tree DNA – Graham Surname DNA Project – Results, online at Web #007; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹³⁵ The two Excerpts which involved genetic genealogy were Excerpts 1 and 3 (Table 0.1). Excerpt 1, titled “The Grahams of the 16-17th Century Anglo-Scottish Border and their Descendants in Rossadown, Co. Laois, Ireland,” was first published online on 10 Sep, 2015, on the Clan Graham Society website, and later mirrored (and occasionally updated) in my portfolio at Academia.edu. Excerpt 3, titled “Graham Origins: Arms and the Man,” was first published on 2 Nov, 2017, via my portfolio at Academia.edu. Both of these Excerpts (including their subsequent minor revisions) were a product of their time, and were therefore written in the expectation that William de Grame and the “noble Grahams” would belong to Y-haplogroup J1. The Sections most impacted by the subsequent revision in favour of an I1 haplogroup for William and his descendants were Sections II, VIII & IX; in the book, these form Chapters 2, 8 & 9, respectively.
- ¹³⁶ See discussion online at the Genetic Genealogy Community – Y-DNA, Mt-DNA, Autosomal DNA forum, online at <http://eng.molgen.org/viewtopic.php?f=93&t=431&start=40>. “Here is something that got my attention as a J1c3d. There appears to be a SNP that -- so far -- is looking like a marker for one’s family having been a “Border Reiver” on the Scotland-England border circa 1300-1600. The SNP is L1253.” – Post by BetweenTheLakes, 27 Jul, 2012. “Yep, the major surnames that are associated with our cluster are Graham/Grimes, Johns(t)on, Brown, Jordan, Armstrong, and Irving/Irwin -- the GJBJAI (/jib-jay/) cluster, if you will.” – follow-up post by Victor Mas, 28 Jul, 2012. Victor is the Lead Researcher at the Family Tree DNA J1 Y-DNA Project [Family Tree DNA – J1 Y-DNA Project – Background, online at Web #014, and co-administrator of the Graham Surname DNA Project [Family Tree DNA – Graham – Overview (left sidebar), online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/graham/about>]. The existence of L1253-positive individuals from the Western Border whose surname is not Graham is addressed in Chapter 9. All URLs accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹³⁷ “J1 with SNP L1253 – Results. All results to hand show testers with origins most likely in the Scottish-English Border Region. [...] As of 24th. May 2014, [...] Our L1253 SNP dates approximately to the Plantation of Ulster by Scots and English in the early 1600’s CE. Among the families driven out of Scotland’s border region by the Stuart monarch at this time were the Elliots, Armstrongs, Irvines, Bells, Grahams and Johnstones among others.” Family Tree DNA – J1 with SNP L1253 – Results, online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/public/J1c3d-with-SNP-L1253/default.aspx?section=results>; accessed 4 Aug 2018. The existence of L1253-positive individuals from the Western Border whose surname is not Graham is addressed in Chapter 9.
- ¹³⁸ Family Tree DNA – Border Reivers DNA Project – DNA Results – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at https://www.familytreedna.com/public/border_reiver_dna?iframe=yresults, where the GRAHAM and JOHNSON: Haplogroup J1 (J-M267+) group has 42 members; accessed 4 Aug, 2018.
- ¹³⁹ Irish Times – Irish Ancestors – Surname History – Graham, online at <http://www.irishtimes.com/ancestor/surname/index.cfm?fuseaction=History&Surname=Graham&UseRID=; Select Surnames – Graham – Select Graham Surname Genealogy – Ireland, online at http://www.selectsurnames2.com/graham.html>; Joe Graham (2007) “A Personal and Wider Look at the History of the Proud Graham’s of Ireland,” online at Web #019. J1 Graham ancestors from these parts of Ireland are evident in the Y-DNA Results of the Graham Surname DNA Project, online at Web #003, accessed 4 Aug 2018; this issue will be investigated in depth in Chapter 9. All URLs accessed 10 Jul, 2015, unless otherwise stated.
- ¹⁴⁰ Graham, T.H.B. (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 82.
- ¹⁴¹ Plomp too lies in the Debatable Land and is thus intimately connected with the lands occupied by Lang Will’s offspring [Fig. 8.2; Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 61, 66-67 & 79]. After comparing the pedigree of “Graham of Nunnery, who was admittedly a Graham of Esk” (actually, the great-great-grandson of Lang Will) with that of Sir Richard of Plomp’s grandson, “the descendant of Fergus Graham of Plomp, who was apparently not a Graham of Esk,” T.H.B. Graham concluded that the two families did in fact share a common ancestor. See Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 80-82.
- ¹⁴² Family Tree DNA – J1 Y-DNA Project: Background, online at Web #014.
- ¹⁴³ Hay (2017) “Haplogroup J1,” online at Web #015, especially subsection “Southwest Asian J1-P58.”

- ¹⁴⁴ Hay (2017) “Haplogroup J1,” online at Web #015, especially subsection “Southwest Asian J1-P58.”
- ¹⁴⁵ Ellass (2009) “DNA could illuminate Islam’s lineage,” Hay (2017) “Haplogroup J1,” online at Web #015, especially subsections “Is J1-P58 the main Arabic paternal lineage?” and “Famous individuals – Hashemites,” International Society of Genetic Genealogy Wiki – Famous DNA: Contested DNA Results – 2.4 Mohammed, Prophet, Hashemites, online at https://isogg.org/wiki/Famous_DNA:Contested_DNA_Results#Mohammed.2C_Prophet.2C_Hashemites; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁴⁶ Wikimedia Commons – File:HG J1 (ADN-Y).PNG, online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HG_J1_\(ADN-Y\).PNG](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:HG_J1_(ADN-Y).PNG). An independent plot using different increments is presented by Hay (2017) “Haplogroup J1,” online at Web #015; the figure, titled “Eupedia map of Y-haplogroup J1,” is online at <https://cache.eupedia.com/images/content/Haplogroup-J1.gif>. All URLs accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁴⁷ Calculated in 2015 using Victor Mas’s Y-chromosome J1 haplogroup tree (v.196), online at Web #016; accessed 7 Nov, 2015. Victor Mas is Lead Researcher of the J1 Y-DNA project at Family Tree DNA, see Family Tree DNA – J1 Y-DNA Project: Background, online at Web #014; also International Society of Genetic Genealogy – Y-DNA Haplogroup J and its Subclades: 2017, online at https://isogg.org/tree/ISOGG_HapgrpJ.html; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- I assume 2015 as the reference year in the tree’s yBP (years Before Present) values for marker formation. The estimated age of L858, the last marker shared by ancestors of the L1253 Grahams with those of Muhammad, places the divergence of these two lineages after 3428 BCE (SNP chronology) or after 2298 BCE (STR chronology). YSC234, the last marker shared by ancestors of the L1253 Grahams with those of the *kohanim*, places the divergence of these two lineages after 3671 BCE (SNP chronology; no STR data). For the *kohanim*, STR chronology for the non-shared ZS241 marker downstream of YSC234 places the divergence before 2469 BCE, while STR chronology for the shared Z2324 marker upstream of YSC234 places it after 3130 BCE; the midpoint, which can be used as a surrogate STR date for YSC234, is 2799 BCE. Overall, these calculations yield a time-difference between the earliest possible divergence points – meaning the earliest points at which the lineage leading to L1253 Grahams could have separated from (a) that leading to Muhammad and (b) that leading to the *kohanim* – of 243 years (SNP chronology) or 501 years (STR chronology). Even the larger value is likely to be insignificant compared to the experimental error of the methodology, meaning that the two events are equally remote in time.
- The Jewish groups most closely related to L1253 Grahams last shared a marker with them in YSC76, which dates the divergence in the two lineages to after 3089 BCE (SNP chronology) or after 1987 BCE (STR chronology). For comparison, the biblical patriarch Abram/Abraham is conventionally ascribed to a time at the end of the 3rd millennium or in the early 2nd millennium BCE [Monson & Lancaster (2014) *Regions On the Run: Introductory Map Studies in the Land of the Bible*, 40 (and foldout chart facing this page)]; traditionalists narrow the date-range to 2166-1991 BCE [Bauer (2007) *The History of the Ancient World: From the Earliest Accounts to the Fall of Rome*, 128 fn.].
- ¹⁴⁸ In the relevant area, namely the Ancient Near East. The absolute chronology of these periods varies from region to region.
- ¹⁴⁹ Victor Mas (2017) “J1 Phylogenetic Tree v.234,” online at Web #016; accessed 28 Oct, 2017. I use the term “Arab” in the sense in which it is popularly understood today, as opposed to the highly restricted sense that denotes the paternal descendants of the first speakers of the Arabic language; this group is characterised by marker FGC12, which sits downstream of FGC11 (the latter at 4591 or 4185 years Before Present) in the phylogenetic tree. The Graham marker L1253 sits downstream of YSC76 (the latter at 4834 or 4002 years Before Present), a marker of similar seniority to FGC11 that is likewise associated geographically with Arabia (see next note & Fig. 8.7). Age estimates are from SNP chronology and STR chronology, respectively, as specified in the phylogenetic tree.
- In the exercise described two notes previously, the lineage of the Jewish groups most closely related to L1253 Grahams was found to have diverged from the Graham lineage after 3089 BCE (SNP chronology) or after 1987 BCE (STR chronology).
- ¹⁵⁰ As seen in Fig. 8.7, the marker ranking is YSC76 (see previous note) > FGC8223 > L1253. The FGC8223 marker is dated to 4643 or 3628 years Before Present (SNP chronology and STR chronology, respectively) in Victor Mas (2017) “J1 Phylogenetic Tree v.234,” online at Web #016, and 4600 years Before Present in YFull Ytree v5.06 (2017), online at <https://www.yfull.com/tree/J->

- [Y3441/](#). The location where the mutation originated – Arabia, as opposed to Anatolia (which is characterised by FGC15940), the Levant (characterised by Z642), etc. – is specified by Hay (2017) “Haplogroup J1,” online at Web #015, figure titled “Phylogenetic Tree of Haplogroup J1 (as of February 2016),” online at <https://cache.eupedia.com/images/content/J1-tree.gif>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017. Of course, FGC8223 and other markers of comparable seniority in the branches downstream of J1-P58 (such as Z642, FGC15940, L829 etc.) have by now diffused to parts of Europe, especially around the Mediterranean basin.
- ¹⁵¹ Family Tree DNA – Crouch Family Group – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/public/Crouch/default.aspx?section=yresults>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁵² SNP ZS1559, estimated at 4078 years Before Present.
- ¹⁵³ Mas’s version number, as marked on tree. In Figshare’s revision count it appears as version 267, uploaded on 4 Jun 2016, online at https://figshare.com/articles/Haplogroup_J1_phylogenetic_tree/741212/267; accessed 28 Oct, 2017. The citation tag in the tree (at bottom right) reads “© Copyright Victor Mas. DOI:10.6084/m9.figshare.741212.”
- ¹⁵⁴ yBP dates marked with an asterisk are from STR chronology, others are from SNP chronology. Note that the yBP values are subject to refinement as additional data is gathered.
- ¹⁵⁵ Markers and their ages are taken directly from Victor’s tree. Testers are identified by finding the Family Tree DNA kit numbers provided in the tree in the database at Family Tree DNA – J1 Y-DNA Project – Y-DNA Classic Chart (Y-DNA 12), online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/public/J-M267/default.aspx?section=yresults>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁵⁶ Burke (1884) *General Armory*, 248.
- ¹⁵⁷ SNP BY89, estimated at 2904 years Before Present; linked with STR values DYS455=10 and DYS388=15, estimated at 1036 years Before Present.
- ¹⁵⁸ Victor Mas, Lead Researcher of the J1 Y-DNA project at Family Tree DNA (see above), quoted on Wikitree – David Crouch (abt. 1744 - 1799), online at <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Crouch-1639>; accessed 28 Oct, 2017.
- ¹⁵⁹ Burkitt (1913) *Euphemia and the Goth, with the Acts of Martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa*, 129-153.
- ¹⁶⁰ McEvedy (1992) *The New Penguin Atlas of Medieval History*, 10-13.
- ¹⁶¹ Wikimedia Commons – File:Antoniuswall Karte.PNG, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Antoniuswall_Karte.PNG; accessed 6 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁶² Andrew Nicholson (2017) “Bullets & Burnswark – New Archaeology,” lecture at Bewcastle Heritage Society, Roadhead Hall, Bewcastle on 19 Sept, 2017. Report on behalf of the Society by Iver Grey, constituting p.4 of a local print publication (probably the next issue of the Society’s newsletter); a scan was kindly forwarded to me by David Noble of Basingstoke, England, on 9 Nov, 2017.
- ¹⁶³ Willie Johnston (2016) “Burnswark’s Bloody Roman History Becomes Clearer,” BBC News – South Scotland, 26 Aug, online at <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-scotland-south-scotland-37194266>; accessed 6 Aug, 2018. Also, Liptrott (2016) “Bloody History Uncovered by Archaeologists at Dumfriesshire’s Largest Hillfort.”
- ¹⁶⁴ John Reid & Andrew Nicholson (2015) “Burnswark: Siege or No Siege?” Lecture by Dr. John Reid of The Trimontium Trust and Andrew Nicholson of Dumfriesshire and Galloway Council at the Archaeological Research in Progress (ARP) Conference, 30 May, 2015; video by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland published on 22 Jul, 2015, online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dZ4ODrmA6U8>; accessed 6 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁶⁵ Liptrott (2016) “Bloody History Uncovered by Archaeologists at Dumfriesshire’s Largest Hillfort.”
- ¹⁶⁶ Jim Farmer (2009) “Syrian Scots on the Borderlands: An Initial Outline,” 4-5, online at <http://pioneersalongsoutherntrails.blogspot.com/2015/09/syrian-scots-on-borderlands.html>; accessed 6 Aug, 2018. Passage quoted by permission of the author, granted by email on 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁶⁷ Jim Farmer (2009) “Syrian Scots on the Borderlands: An Initial Outline,” 5, online at <http://pioneersalongsoutherntrails.blogspot.com/2015/09/syrian-scots-on-borderlands.html>; accessed 6 Aug, 2018. Passage quoted by permission of the author, granted by email on 5 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁶⁸ Kevan White (2018) “Roman Britain: CASTRA EXPLORATORVM – BEWCASTLE,” online at http://roman-britain.co.uk/places/castra_exploratorum.htm; accessed 6 Aug, 2018.

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- ¹⁶⁹ This is my own observation, not that of Farmer. Universities of Reading & Southampton – The Soldier in Later Medieval England – Database search, online at <https://research.reading.ac.uk/medievalsoldier/dbsearch/>; accessed 10 Jul, 2020.
- ¹⁷⁰ Peronis (2007) “The Hamians,” online at Web #017.
- ¹⁷¹ Peronis (2007) “The Hamians,” online at Web #017.
- ¹⁷² Peronis (2007) “The Hamians,” online at Web #017.
- ¹⁷³ Peronis (2007) “The Hamians,” online at Web #017.
- ¹⁷⁴ English Heritage Education (2017) “Teachers’ Resource Pack: Carlisle Castle,” 1 & 12, online at <http://www.english-heritage.org.uk/content/properties/carlisle-castle/school-visits/carlisle-castle-teacher-resource-pack.pdf>; accessed 7 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁷⁵ Emails of Nov-Dec, 2017, from David Noble, cited by kind permission (email of 6 Aug, 2018). I later discovered that some of these papers had also been included in a portfolio of Graham-related documents posted to me in Dec, 2017, by Bruce Graham of Welcome Bay, Tauranga, New Zealand, to whom I am also grateful.
- ¹⁷⁶ The existence of Border J1 (L1253) individuals with surnames other than Graham is addressed in Chapter 9.

Chapter 9

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- ¹ John W. Irvine (2012) "The Flemish People in Scotland - the Graham Family of Queen's County, Ireland," Call for information by the Chairman of the Scottish Local History Forum, online at <http://www.scotlandspeople.gov.uk/Content/Help/index.aspx?r=546&2183>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ² Church of Ireland.
- ³ It was certainly built before 1911, since it shows up on the Ordinance Survey map of that year; indeed, it is clearly a well-established property in photographs dated 1911. The old Graham dwelling is not shown on that map.
- ⁴ Ellen, bap. 15 Apr, 1810; Eleanor, bap. 24 Mar, 1811; Susannah, bap. 26 May, 1811; John, bap. 13 Feb, 1813; Mary Anne, bap. 15 Dec, 1815; Lydia, bap. 12 Oct, 1817. Source: Church of Ireland, Parish of Offerlane Registry Book, 1777-1823, Representative Church Body Library, Churchtown, Dublin.
- ⁵ James, b. 11 Mar 1777; Ann, b. 10 Jan, 1779; Elinor, b. 10 Feb, 1781; John, b. 11 Feb, 1784; Susanna, b. 22 Jun, 1786; George, b. 11 Jul 1788; Mary, b. 4 Aug, 1790; Margaret, b. 14 Feb, 1792; Jane, b. 11 Mar, 1794; Mary, 14 Apr, 1797. Source: Church of Ireland, Parish of Offerlane Registry Book, 1777-1823, Representative Church Body Library, Churchtown, Dublin.
- ⁶ William Graham, d. 11 May, 1918, aged 71 years. Source: Church of Ireland, Parish of Offerlane Burials, 1840-2002, Representative Church Body Library, Churchtown, Dublin.
- ⁷ Married 18 Apr, 1761, St. Michan's, Church of Ireland, Ballyfin, Queen's County. Source: Dublin Probate Record & Marriage Licence Index, 1270-1858.
- ⁸ Graham (1841) *Ireland Preserved: Or, The Siege of Londonderry and Battle of Aughrim*, 324-325.
- ⁹ Irish Times – Irish Ancestors – Surname History – Graham, online at Web #018; Select Surnames – Graham – Select Graham Surname Genealogy – Ireland, online at <http://www.selectsurnames2.com/graham.html>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015. Also, Joe Graham (2007) "A Personal and Wider Look at the History of the Proud Graham's of Ireland," online at Web #019.
- ¹⁰ Personal communication from my uncle, Eric Graham, Clondalkin, Dublin; Mar 2015.
- ¹¹ Personal communication from my uncle, Eric Graham, Clondalkin, Dublin; Mar 2015.
- ¹² Photo courtesy of uncle, Eric Graham, Clondalkin, Dublin; Mar 2015.
- ¹³ Information from my great-aunt Eileen Holmes, via personal communication from my uncle, Eric Graham, Clondalkin, Dublin; Mar 2015.
- ¹⁴ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets – The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*, 370.
- ¹⁵ In 1610, official thought was given to removing all of the ex-Border Grahams still in Ireland to Ulster, with the intent of consolidating them there, but the idea was vetoed by the Lord Deputy of Ireland. Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 370-371.
- ¹⁶ Irish Times – Irish Ancestors – Surname History – Graham, online at Web #018.
- ¹⁷ Select Surnames – Graham – Select Graham Surname Genealogy – Ireland, online at <http://www.selectsurnames2.com/graham.html>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹⁸ Joe Graham, "A Personal and Wider Look at the History of the Proud Graham's of Ireland," online at Web #019.
- ¹⁹ Irish Times – Irish Ancestors – Surname History – Graham, online at Web #018.
- ²⁰ O'Hanlon *et al.* (1914) *History of the Queen's County*, vol. 2, 456, provides an excerpt from O'Donovan's translation of *The Annals of the Four Masters* that implicates "the Grehams." D'Alton (1920) *History of Ireland – From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, vol. 3, 81-82, renders them "the Grahams."
- ²¹ Graham (1914) "The Debatable Land – Part II," 150 & 151; also R.R. Stodart, *Scottish Arms*, vol. 1, 79A.
- ²² Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 132.
- ²³ Sources include: Graham (1912) "The Debatable Land," Graham (1914) "The Debatable Land – Part II," O'Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 231-234; Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," Clan Graham Society website, online at www.ClanGrahamSociety.org; Linley family website, online at <http://www.linleyfh.com/oursecondsite/p/p381.htm#i14930>; Ireland Genealogy Projects & Ireland Genealogy Projects Archives – Pender Census – Barony of Ballyadams, online at Web #020. All URLs accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ²⁴ O'Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 232; Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 139-140.
- ²⁵ It could relate to the first colonisation of Co. Laois, which took place in 1556 when Thomas Lord FitzWalter, later Earl of Sussex, attempted to install Scottish and English settlers on lands that used to

- belong to the O'Moore clan. It was not particularly successful. The plantation settlements were grouped closely around the forts of Maryborough and Philipstown, which were largely independent of one another. Ó hAnnracháin (2014) "Plantation, 1580-1641," 294.
- ²⁶ O'Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 232.
- ²⁷ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 140.
- ²⁸ Sir Bernard Burke believed they were born in Ireland; Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 140.
- ²⁹ The R.J. Hunter Collection – Muster Rolls c.1630 – 2.1: The Career of William Graham, online at Web #021.
- ³⁰ George served under Capt. Flower and Richard under Sir George Thornton. Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 140-146.
- ³¹ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 140-146.
- ³² O'Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 232.
- ³³ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 146.
- ³⁴ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 146.
- ³⁵ O'Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 232 fn.
- ³⁶ E.g., Burke (1852) *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, 449-450.
- ³⁷ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 147 & 157-158. Here, Rahin/Rahenderry is reported to have been forfeited by Mac Edmond Macdonald/Macdonnell.
- ³⁸ 25 May, 1601: The Queen to the Lord Deputy and Lord Cancellor for Sir Richard Greame "Graeme has served us well etc. We are pleased to grant him at his suit, the towns, etc. of Rahin, late in the tenure of Edmond McMolmory and Hahinduff and Crymorgan, lately held by Lisaghe O'More, and Dowrie, held by Shane O'More, and Money ne Bollie, late in the holding of Cale O'Kelly ... in King's county. These lands are in the yearly value of 16/19/- or thereabouts and are forfeited by the rebellion of the tenants therof." *Addenda, Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 631; Linley family – Sir Richard Graham or Greame, online at <http://www.linleyfh.com/oursecondsite-p/p381.htm#i11383>, accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ³⁹ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 147.
- ⁴⁰ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 147-148.
- ⁴¹ Linley family – Sir Richard Graham or Greame, online at <http://www.linleyfh.com/oursecondsite-p/p381.htm#i11383>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁴² Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 155 & 158-159.
- ⁴³ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 155.
- ⁴⁴ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 148.
- ⁴⁵ O'Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 233; Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 148-149 & 160. Although Burke says that Sir Richard had ten children, and O'Hart does not specify a total, slightly more than ten may be inferred from Fig. 9.5.
- ⁴⁶ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 156-157.
- ⁴⁷ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 156.
- ⁴⁸ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 156.
- ⁴⁹ RootsWeb – The Brennan Family History Website – Ballylethane, Co. Laois, online at http://freepages.family.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mjbrennan/Ballylethane_1.htm; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁵⁰ Burke (1863) "Hector Graham, of Lea Castle," 157-158. However, in another account, he is accused of turning upon a Dempsey escort that had safely ushered a party of English to Ballylynan, in defiance of an assurance that the escort would not be harmed. Graves (1850) "The Ancient Tribes and Territories of Ossory: No. 1."
- ⁵¹ "Titulado" denotes the principal person of a locality, who need not be an actual land-owner. Ireland Genealogy Projects – Barony of Ballyadams, online at Web #020; similar results at Roots Ireland – Census Substitutes for Co. Laois, online at <http://laois.rootsireland.ie/quis.php?page=0&prevStartQuery=0>, queried with surname Graham (and variants) on 16 Feb, 2019.
- ⁵² From the funeral entry of "Sir Richard Greames" [= Sir Richard Graham, d. 1625/6], *Funeral Entries*, Office of Arms, Dublin, vol. 17, 142; cited with photograph of derivative arms in an entry based on notes from Earl Belmore: [Belmore] (1897) "County Fermanagh – Inishmacsaint Parish – Derrygonnelly Old Church."

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- ⁵³ “Quarterly; 1st & 4th Or, a pale Gules charged with a crescent Argent, on a chief Sable three escallops of the First; 2nd Or, a fesse chequy Azure and Argent, in chief a chevron Gules; 3rd Argent, a shakefork Sable.” The Armorial Register – International Register of Arms – Cunninghame Graham, W.R.B., online at <http://www.armorial-register.com/arms-sco/cunninghame-graham-arms.html>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁵⁴ O’Hart (1915) *Irish Pedigrees*, vol. 2, 233; Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 148-149 & 160; Linley family – Sir George Graham or Greame, online at <http://www.linleyfh.com/oursecondsite-p/p381.htm#i14931>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁵⁵ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 160.
- ⁵⁶ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 151-153. When the Grahams of Eskdale displaced the Storeys from their land in the 1520s, there was at least some culpability on the part of the victims; Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 58-59.
- ⁵⁷ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 155, 158-159 & 161-162.
- ⁵⁸ He also petitioned to be made controller of the much deteriorated castle of Maryborough (Portlaoise), where Sir Richard had been Constable. Facebook – Laois Heritage Society, online at https://www.facebook.com/permalink.php?story_fbid=413146788830304&id=179222488889403, accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁵⁹ Sir Bernard Burke claims that Richard came to possess the estates of both Sir Richard and Sir George; if so, Ballylynan may have been part of the lands forfeited on his account. Alternatively, it may have been sold off soon afterwards by his brother John (see text). Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 161-162.
- ⁶⁰ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 161.
- ⁶¹ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 170-174.
- ⁶² Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 175-177.
- ⁶³ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 160.
- ⁶⁴ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 179-180.
- ⁶⁵ The R.J. Hunter Collection – The Career of William Graham, online at Web #021.
- ⁶⁶ Amongst Sir Richard’s own sons there is a Richard (and possibly a John) attested at Ballylynan in 1659, either of whom may have had unrecorded families [Ireland Genealogy Projects – Barony of Ballyadams, online at Web #020; similar results at Roots Ireland – Census Substitutes for Co. Laois, online at <http://laois.rootsireland.ie/quis.php?page=0&prevStartQuery=0>, queried with surname Graham (and variants) on 16 Feb, 2019]. Equally, one of Sir George’s sons may have perpetuated his line.
- ⁶⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 369.
- ⁶⁸ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 194-195.
- ⁶⁹ The R.J. Hunter Collection – The Career of William Graham, fn.29, online at Web #021.
- ⁷⁰ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 370; The R.J. Hunter Collection – The Career of William Graham, fn.29, online at Web #021.
- ⁷¹ RootsWeb – The Brennan Family History Website – Ballylethane, Co. Laois, online at http://freepages.family.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~mjbrennan/Ballylethane_1.htm, accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁷² Ireland Genealogy Projects – Barony of Ballyadams, online at Web #020.
- ⁷³ A total of four, including one “John” whose origin is unclear. The names are Dame Elizabeth Grahams, Lady; Thomas Grahams, Esq.; John Grahams gentle[man]; Richard Grahams gent[leman]. Elizabeth was Sir Richard’s widow; Thomas and Richard were his sons.
- ⁷⁴ Excluding any granted denization in England; see the entry two notes below this one.
- ⁷⁵ Dobson (2001) *Scots-Irish Links, 1575-1725*, pt. 3, Introduction (n.p.).
- ⁷⁶ Between 1603 and 1634 a number of residents of Ireland, particularly Ulster, “all of the Scotch nation or descent” were recorded in the Irish Patent Rolls as having been granted denization. For more exceptional Scots, denizenization as English was also possible. For example, on 12 Feb 1618/9, Thomas Graham, potentially the eldest son of Sir Richard, was party to the “Grant of denization to John Dunbarr, esq. Jas Dunbarr, his son, Alex. and Geo. Dunbar, Tho. Graham, Arch. Acheson of Clancarny [... & 8 others...] all of Scotch birth or blood, whereby they are released from the yoke of servitude of the Scotch, Irish or any other nation or blood, and entitled to enjoy all the rights of Englishmen;” Linley family website, online at <http://www.linleyfh.com/oursecondsite-p/p381.htm#i12092>, accessed 10 Jul, 2015. A similar grant of English liberty is recorded in 1605 for

Sir Hugh Montgomery of Scotland and his issue; Dobson (2001) *Scots-Irish Links, 1575-1725*, pt. 3, Introduction (n.p.).

- ⁷⁷ Glasgow Guide Discussion Boards – Glasgow Boards/Forums – Glasgow Memories – Glasgow Memories – Family History – Common Irish Surnames In Scotland, Irish Surnames Commonly Found in Scotland – Paul Kelly, post of 21 Sep, 2007, online at <http://discuss.glasgowguide.co.uk/index.php?s=&showtopic=6148&view=findpost&p=159450>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁷⁸ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 140.
- ⁷⁹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 370-371; the full quotation appears at the start of the present book.
- ⁸⁰ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 159. On the other hand, Bob Graham (of Grindon, Sunderland, a descendant of the Fermanagh Grahams) kindly drew my attention on 13 Nov, 2017, to extracts of wills in Sir William Betham’s notebooks which do not mention any son of Capt. Arthur’s apart from Winwood, who seemingly died before 1721 without male issue. [Will Refs. 33,126,19866 & 33,129,19873 and Deeds 10-422-4026 & 48-45-30599; *Abstracts of Wills – Registry of Deeds, Dublin*, vol. 1 (1708-1745), Eustace, Stationery Office Dublin, 1956.] Bob does however point out that Arthur may have had an earlier marriage, from which a son might have propagated his line.
- ⁸¹ Burke (1863) “Hector Graham, of Lea Castle,” 140.
- ⁸² Determined in Feb 2015 by Family Tree DNA, online at www.familytreedna.com, accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁸³ Search of Feb, 2015.
- ⁸⁴ KG was added to the database in Aug 2015, after my main analysis had been completed.
- ⁸⁵ While a GD = 0 theoretically indicates >99% probability of a shared relative within the last 12 generations (i.e., since about 1700), the time-spans seem in practice to be underestimates. For instance, at GD = 0, I am supposed to have a >97% chance of a shared ancestor in the last 8 generations (i.e., since ~1800) with a Johnson whose ancestry in the US dates back to David Johnson, b. 1757, but our shared ancestor must actually lie more than 10 generations in the past. I am predicted with certainty (100% probability) to share an ancestor with relatives at GD = 0 within the last 24 generations, i.e., since the early 1400s, and that time-frame is perfectly consistent with the proposal of shared Western Border origins advanced above.
- ⁸⁶ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 56-65.
- ⁸⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 2. However, it was common enough even in the Border lands for the “t” to be dropped; see Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 62.
- ⁸⁸ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, front maps & p.57, 61, 115, 118.
- ⁸⁹ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 64.
- ⁹⁰ Planetware – Clans of the Scottish Highlands and Lowlands (map), online at <http://www.planetware.com/i/map/SCO/clans-of-the-scottish-highlands-and-lowlands-map.jpg>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ⁹¹ Scottish Origenes – Home, online at <http://www.scottishorigenes.com/>, accessed 1 Dec, 2015. The work of this researcher – Dr. Tyrone Bowes – was brought to my attention after the advance online publication of the original version of this chapter in Nov 2015 (Excerpt 1, Table 0.1).
- ⁹² In the rare instance of a confessional testament, one reiver estimates that “he had layne with about 40 men’s wives,” the events taking place both in England and in Scotland. Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 105. Opportunities also arose in the course of taking hostages and captives; Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 111.
- ⁹³ “The Armstrongs seem to have found the Graham and Forster girls particularly attractive, and vice versa;” Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 67. Lord Burghley’s “Pedigree of the Grames of Esk” confirms the attraction of Armstrong men for Graham girls and Graham men for Armstrong girls; see Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 71-75.
- ⁹⁴ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 57 & 77.
- ⁹⁵ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 365.
- ⁹⁶ Graham (1907) *Conditions of the Border at the Union*, 152.
- ⁹⁷ Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets*, 57.
- ⁹⁸ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 60-61 & 71-75.
- ⁹⁹ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 61.
- ¹⁰⁰ Including, of course, the flight or death of the husband.
- ¹⁰¹ After the advance online publication of the original version of this chapter in Nov 2015 (Excerpt 1, Table 0.1), it was brought to my attention that another researcher – Dr. Tyrone Bowes – had set up a

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- fee-for-service business based on the same logic. For Y-DNA testers with Irish or Scottish origins, the combination of recurring non-cognate surnames among their genetic matches are used triangulate their “paternal ancestral genetic homeland.” See Irish Origenes – Home, online at <http://www.irishorigenes.com/> and Scottish Origenes – Home, online at <http://www.scottishorigenes.com/>. His case-study of a J1 Graham (Nov 2015) can be found at <https://www.keepandshare.com/doc/7838889/graham-dow-a-scottish-origenes-ydna-case-study-dr-tyrone-bowes-061115-pdf-1-4-meg?da=y>. All URLs accessed 6 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁰² FT-DNA data current at Aug 2018. ySearch searches, done with 37 markers, were performed on 5 Nov, 2015. The surname Jordan persists through all levels to GD = 6, suggesting a very early involvement with this surname.
- ¹⁰³ See discussion online at the Genetic Genealogy Community – Y-DNA, Mt-DNA, Autosomal DNA forum, online at <http://eng.molgen.org/viewtopic.php?f=93&t=431&start=40>. “Here is something that got my attention as a J1c3d. There appears to be a SNP that -- so far -- is looking like a marker for one’s family having been a “Border Reiver” on the Scotland-England border circa 1300-1600. The SNP is L1253.” – Post by BetweenTheLakes, 27 Jul, 2012. “Yep, the major surnames that are associated with our cluster are Graham/Grimes, Johns(t)on, Brown, Jordan, Armstrong, and Irving/Irwin -- the GJBIAI (/jib-jay/) cluster, if you will.” – follow-up post by Victor Mas, 28 Jul, 2012. Victor is the Lead Researcher at the Family Tree DNA J1 Y-DNA Project [Family Tree DNA – J1 Y-DNA Project – Background, online at Web #014, and co-administrator of the Graham Surname DNA Project [Family Tree DNA – Graham – Overview (left sidebar), online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/groups/graham/about>]. All URLs accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹⁰⁴ “J1 with SNP L1253 – Results. All results to hand show testers with origins most likely in the Scottish-English Border Region. [...] As of 24th. May 2014, [...] Our L1253 SNP dates approximately to the Plantation of Ulster by Scots and English in the early 1600’s CE. Among the families driven out of Scotland’s border region by the Stuart monarch at this time were the Elliots, Armstrongs, Irvines, Bells, Grahams and Johnstones among others.” Family Tree DNA – J1 with SNP L1253 – Results, online at <https://www.familytreedna.com/public/J1c3d-with-SNP-L1253/default.aspx?section=results>; accessed 10 Jul, 2015.
- ¹⁰⁵ Family Tree DNA – Border Reivers DNA Project – Results – DNA Results – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at https://www.familytreedna.com/public/border_reiver_dna?iframe=yresults; accessed 4 Aug, 2018.
- ¹⁰⁶ Family Tree DNA – Graham – Results – DNA Results – Y-DNA Classic Chart, online at Web #003; accessed 3 Aug, 2018. The significance of the ZS1542 marker, which is junior to L1253, is currently unknown.

Chapter 10

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 1 Aug, 2019.

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- ¹ Keith (1824) *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops: Down to the Year 1688*, 31.
- ² Keith (1824) *An Historical Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops: Down to the Year 1688*, 181 & 227; Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, 35-65.
- ³ White & Armytage (1897) *The Baptismal, Marriage, and Burial Registers of the Cathedral Church of Christ and Blessed Mary the Virgin at Durham, 1609-1896*, 105 fn. 10; The Clergy Database – Graham, William (1680-1713), online at <https://theclergydatabase.org.uk/jsp/persons/DisplayCcePerson.jsp?PersonID=23798>.
- ⁴ Carpenter (1942) *The Reverend John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut and His Descendants*.
- ⁵ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 194-195.
- ⁶ Merriam-Webster – Word History – Where Does the Name “Cappuccino” Come From?, online at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/where-do-we-get-cappuccino-from>.
- ⁷ Merriam-Webster – Word History – Where Does the Name “Cappuccino” Come From?, online at <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/where-do-we-get-cappuccino-from>.
- ⁸ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 194.
- ⁹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 195.
- ¹⁰ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 201 and image facing that page; key facing p.202.
- ¹¹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 195 & 201.
- ¹² Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 204.
- ¹³ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 203.
- ¹⁴ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 204.
- ¹⁵ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 204.
- ¹⁶ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 205.
- ¹⁷ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 205.
- ¹⁸ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 205.
- ¹⁹ O.C.S.O. Order of the Cistercians of the Strict Observance – FAQs, online at <https://www.ocso.org/who-we-are/faqs/>.
- ²⁰ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 205.
- ²¹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 206.
- ²² Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 206 & 210.
- ²³ Wikimedia Commons – Datei: Armand Bouthillier Rance.jpg, online at https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datei:Armand_Bouthillier_Rance.jpg.
- ²⁴ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 202.
- ²⁵ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 206-208.
- ²⁶ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 208.
- ²⁷ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 207.
- ²⁸ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable*, 195.
- ²⁹ Huddleston & Hamilton (2004) “Graham, William.”
- ³⁰ Railton (2006) “‘The Dreamy Mazes of Millenarianism’ – William Graham and the Irish Presbyterian Mission to German Jews,” 174-201.
- ³¹ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine, or, The East and the West*.
- ³² Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, 113-114.
- ³³ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, vii.
- ³⁴ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, vii.
- ³⁵ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, 132.
- ³⁶ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, 133.
- ³⁷ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, xii.
- ³⁸ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, vii.
- ³⁹ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, 113.
- ⁴⁰ Graham (1854) *The Jordan and the Rhine*, title page.
- ⁴¹ Wacker (2014) *America’s Pastor – Billy Graham and the Shaping of a Nation*.

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- ⁴² Stammer (1996) “Billy Graham Program Takes Cue From MTV.”
- ⁴³ Horstman (2002) “Man with a Mission.”
- ⁴⁴ [Los Angeles Times] (1988) “Christians Don’t Have to Belong to GOP, Democrat Graham Says.”
- ⁴⁵ Carl Ellis, Jr. (2018) “Preaching Redemption Amidst Racism: Remembering Billy Graham.”
- ⁴⁶ Murray (2000) *Evangelicalism Divided – Old Truths for a New Awakening*, 73-74.
- ⁴⁷ Bill Trott (2018) “Billy Graham, Preacher to Millions, Adviser to U.S. Presidents, Dies at 99,” Reuters, 22 Feb, online at <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-people-billy-graham/billy-graham-preacher-to-millions-adviser-to-u-s-presidents-dies-at-99-idUSKCN1G51O9>.
- ⁴⁸ Carpenter (1942) *The Reverend John Graham of Woodbury, Connecticut, and His Descendants*, 313 *et seq.*; Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham – The Man who Taught Lincoln*, xix; State Library of North Carolina – North Carolina Digital Collections – Graham Family Bible Records, online at <http://digital.ncdcr.gov/cdm/ref/collection/p15012coll1/id/6027>. South Carolina, too, has been home to Grahams since the mid-18th century; see Graham *et al.* (2005) “The Grahams of Horry County,” and Graham & Graham (2005) “Graham Wills and Deed of Gift.”
- ⁴⁹ Graham County website, online at <http://grahamcounty.org/>.
- ⁵⁰ Graham, North Carolina – About Graham History, online at <https://www.cityofgraham.com/about-graham/history/>.
- ⁵¹ Billy Graham Evangelistic Association (2015) “North Carolina’s Favorite Son: Billy Graham and His Remarkable Journey of Faith,” Press Release, 8 Oct, online at <https://billygraham.org/press-release/north-carolinas-favorite-son-billy-graham-and-his-remarkable-journey-of-faith/>.
- ⁵² Wikimedia Commons – File: Billy Graham bw photo, April 11, 1966.jpg, online at https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Billy_Graham#/media/File: Billy_Graham_bw_photo,_April_11,_1966.jpg.
- ⁵³ Cover image online at <https://images.gr-assets.com/books/1187807845/1756969.jpg>.
- ⁵⁴ Lloyd M. Graham (1975) *Deceptions and Myths of the Bible*, Bell, USA, rear inside flap of 1979 reprinting, which paraphrases the author’s statement on p.6.
- ⁵⁵ James P. Holding (2014) “Lloyd M. Graham’s ‘Deceptions and Myths of the Bible’: A Critique,” Tekton Apologetics, online at <http://www.tektonics.org/gk/grahamlloyd01.php>.
- ⁵⁶ Graham (1975) *Deceptions and Myths of the Bible*, 120.
- ⁵⁷ Graham (1975) *Deceptions and Myths of the Bible*, 121.
- ⁵⁸ Graham (1975) *Deceptions and Myths of the Bible*, 121.
- ⁵⁹ Graham (1975) *Deceptions and Myths of the Bible*, 231.
- ⁶⁰ Hmolpedia – Lloyd Graham, online at <http://www.eoht.info/page/Lloyd+Graham>.
- ⁶¹ Broadcast of October 1939; Jeffares & Gray (1995) *Collins Dictionary of Quotations*, 163 (#10).
- ⁶² James P. Holding (2014) “Lloyd M. Graham’s ‘Deceptions and Myths of the Bible’: A Critique,” Tekton Apologetics, online at <http://www.tektonics.org/gk/grahamlloyd01.php>.
- ⁶³ Copyright Office, US Library of Congress (1977) *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, 3rd Series, vol. 29 part 1, no. 2, section 2: *Books and Pamphlets, Including Serials and Contributions to Periodicals, Current and Renewal Registrations, July-December 1975*, Washington DC, 2389.
- ⁶⁴ Google Groups – alt.atheism – Lloyd Graham’s book - “Myths of Bible” - Reliable?, online at <https://groups.google.com/forum/#!msg/alt.atheism/mX95p9mPsp4/FF-0MYnNetwJ>.
- ⁶⁵ Chiropractors in USA – Oregon – Grants Pass – Dr. Lloyd Graham, online at <https://www.chirodirectory.com/chiropractors/OR/Grants%20Pass/Dr-Lloyd-Graham-011222>.
- ⁶⁶ Graham (1964) *Bio-Magnetic Healing*.
- ⁶⁷ Goodavage (1966) *Astrology, the Space-Age Science*, 137
- ⁶⁸ I have been unable to access a copy of *Bio-Magnetic Healing*, but the title alone indicates an “alternative” approach to medicine, and an example of its author’s unconventional take on cellular physiology is cited by Goodavage (1966) *Astrology, the Space-Age Science*, 92.
- ⁶⁹ Tributes – Obituary – Lloyd G. Graham, online at <http://www.tributes.com/obituary/show/Lloyd-G.-Graham-89281848>.
- ⁷⁰ Krypton (1949) *Quantum Organum – A Genetic Cosmo-Conception*. Republished in 1959 by Pageant Press; see online at <https://www.amazon.com/Quantum-Organum-Genetic-Cosmo-Conception-Krypton/dp/B001B3O0EW>.
- ⁷¹ Weiser Antiquarian Books – KRYPTON [Lloyd Mahon Graham] and Charles Richardson, *Quantum Organum: A Genetic Cosmo-Conception*, online at

<https://www.weiserantiquarian.com/pages/books/60602/krypton-lloyd-mahon-graham-charles-richardson/quartum-organum-a-genetic-cosmo-conception/?soldItem=true>.

- ⁷² A photograph of the inscription, with its pencil additions, is online at <https://www.weiserantiquarian.com/pictures/60602a.jpg?v=1530728564>.
- ⁷³ National Trust Collections – *Quartum Organum : A Genetic Cosmo-Conception*, item NT 3192158, online at <http://www.nationaltrustcollections.org.uk/object/3192158>.
- ⁷⁴ Copyright Office, US Library of Congress (ca. 1950) *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, 3rd Series, vol. 3 part 1A, no. 2: *Books, July-December 1949*, 322.
- ⁷⁵ Graham (1975) *Deceptions and Myths of the Bible*, 8-25.
- ⁷⁶ Another possibility is that the two birth date estimates are incorrect and that the information from Kevin is spurious, in which case both books could have been written by Lloyd Mahon Graham, if for example he was born ca. 1920.
- ⁷⁷ For my science publication list, see my ORCID – Lloyd Graham, online at <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9778-1688>, accessed 10 Jun, 2020; for my arts/humanities publications, see ORCID – Lloyd Graham, online at <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4149-2120>, accessed 10 Jun, 2020.

Chapter 11

- ¹ Guy Chassagnard, ed. (2013) *Old Charges – Ancient Masonic Texts and Old Charges*, ch. 31, online at <http://theoldcharges.com/chapter-31.html>; accessed 4 Dec, 2016.
- ² Poole (1937) “The Graham Manuscript.”
- ³ Poole (1937) “The Graham Manuscript,” facsimile facing p.17; see also p.14.
- ⁴ Indicating merely that Graham was Master of the Lodge to which he belonged. Chassagnard (ed.) (2013) *Old Charges – Ancient Masonic Texts and Old Charges*, ch. 31, online at <http://theoldcharges.com/chapter-31.html>; accessed 4 Dec, 2016.
- ⁵ Poole (1937) “The Graham Manuscript,” 29.
- ⁶ For a full transcript, see Carr (1975) *The Early Masonic Catechisms*, 89-96.
- ⁷ Bogdan (2006) “Kabbalistic Influence on the Early Development of the Master Mason Degree of Freemasonry.”
- ⁸ The second name “Abiff” arises from a transliteration of the Hebrew phrase by which this character is introduced in 2 Chronicles 2:13. The phrase reads *l’-hurām ābī*, literally “to/for/at Hurām my father;” it actually reads as if the speaker in this verse is the son of Hiram, King of Tyre, on whose behalf the workman is being sent to Solomon, and that the workman himself remains unnamed. The speaker, however, is King Hiram, so some translators opt to interpret *ābī* as “my master” meaning “my master craftsman.” For a Hebrew interlinear of this verse, see Bible Hub, online at http://biblehub.com/interlinear/2_chronicles/2-13.htm; accessed 4 Dec, 2016. In 1 Kings 7:13, the same workman is named Hiram. To reconcile the accounts, many translators have opted to consider the two words of the Chronicles verse as jointly forming the workman’s name, Hiram-abi (e.g., NRSV), from which arises Hiram Abiff.
- ⁹ Anderson’s *Book of Constitutions*; see Poole (1937) “The Graham Manuscript,” 11-12.
- ¹⁰ Chakravarthy Sampath Madhavan (n.d.) “The Hiram Legend: Whence and Wherefore,” online at http://www.freemasons-freemasonry.com/MADHAVAN_HiramLegend.html; accessed 4 Dec, 2016.
- ¹¹ Robert J. W. Harvey (1974) “Royal Arch Masonry in Ireland in the Early 19th Century,” online at <http://www.royal-arch.irish-freemasonry.org.uk/RAC%20IN%20IREL.%20Volume%20XVI.htm>, accessed 15 May, 2020.
- ¹² Yatim (2012) “Freemasonry and the Mystic Schools of the East.” Variants (p.25) are also listed by Carr (1946) *An Examination of the Early Masonic Catechisms*, 57-58; and by Bogdan (2014) “Freemasonry and Western Esotericism,” 297.
- ¹³ It would be inappropriate for me to include details that may still be considered secrets of Freemasonry; readers who wish to learn more can consult the references that I have cited.
- ¹⁴ Carr (1946) *An Examination of the Early Masonic Catechisms*, 57-58.
- ¹⁵ Poole (1937) “The Graham Manuscript,” 10-11.
- ¹⁶ Bogdan (2014) “Freemasonry and Western Esotericism,” 297.
- ¹⁷ “One [son of Hiram] said, here is yet marrow in this bone;” Bogdan (2006) “Kabbalistic Influence,” 125.
- ¹⁸ E.g., University of Bradford – Web of Hiram – Lectures of the Craft of Freemasonry – The Lecture of the Third Degree of Freemasonry, Section II, online at https://www.brad.ac.uk/webofhiram/?section=lectures_craft&page=3Lec.html; accessed 15 May, 2020.
- ¹⁹ Trevor W. McKeown (2016) “*The Hiram Key*, A Few Observations,” Grand Lodge of British Columbia and Yukon, online at https://freemasonry.bcy.ca/texts/reviews/hiram_key.html; accessed 15 May, 2020.
- ²⁰ Knight & Lomas (1996) *The Hiram Key*, 188-189.
- ²¹ Where the “great one” is male. This reading minimises the problems caused by the gender mismatch of the subject *m3ʿt* (fem.) with *mn* and ʿ3 (masc.).
- ²² In Egyptian, word order is paramount. Each of these statements is a nominal non-verbal sentence for which the subject is *maʿat*. To have statements that begin “Great is...” or that end in “... is great,” the corresponding (adjectival non-verbal) sentences would have to begin with *aa* (in Knight & Lomas’s phonetic spelling): at best, *aa-nb-maʿat-mn*, *aa-ba-maʿat*. In saying this, I draw upon five years’ continuous study of the Egyptian language through units at Macquarie University and through

- intensives at the Macquarie Ancient Language School, Sydney. For an outline of word order in non-verbal sentences, see Ockinga (2012) *A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian*, 28-31.
- ²³ Hart (2005) *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses*, 89-90.
- ²⁴ Perhaps Knight & Lomas would claim that the situation is analogous to the male-dominated Church being portrayed as a feminine body (the “bride of Christ,” Ephes. 5:22-33). Even so, the closest match to a personification of Freemasonry in the Egyptian pantheon would not be Ma’at but Seshat. This goddess assisted the king “in the ritual ‘stretching of the cord’ ceremony,” as Seshat was also the ‘mistress of builders’ and it was she who established the ground plan on the founding or expansion of every sacred structure.” Wilkinson (2003) *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*, 166.
- ²⁵ Richard B. Baldwin (ca. 1985?) “The Mason Word,” online at http://www.masonicworld.com/education/files/may05/mason_word.htm, accessed 21 Jan, 2015. This origin is so obvious that it must have occurred to many Arabic speakers; for example, it was proposed by J.T. Desaguliers on 26 Nov, 2011, in an online discussion titled “The Masonic ‘Secret Word’ – What Does it Mean?,” online at <http://www.abovetopsecret.com/forum/thread567309/pg1#pid12887925>, accessed 21 Jan, 2015. Mohamad A. Yatim also posited an Arabic origin, but saw the Word as derived from an uncommon Arabic term; (2012) “Freemasonry and the Mystic Schools of the East.”
- ²⁶ A prime example of the latter is the use of “Laylah Illallah” as either a name for God or as the name of the first Mason; it is in fact the Islamic profession of faith, *La ilaha illallah*; Yatim (2012) “Freemasonry and the Mystic Schools of the East,” 26. Interestingly, this “name” was being correctly interpreted by Masons as far back as 1726 as meaning “there is no other God but God;” Carr (1975) *The Early Masonic Catechisms*, 97.
- ²⁷ Carr (1946) *An Examination of the Early Masonic Catechisms*, 56; Bogdan (2014) “Freemasonry and Western Esotericism,” 296. This broadsheet, titled *The Grand Mystery Laid Open*, is dated 1726; Carr, p.5.
- ²⁸ Yatim (2012) “Freemasonry and the Mystic Schools of the East,” 26.
- ²⁹ Pétis de La Croix (1765) *The Thousand and One Days: Persian Tales*, vol. 1, 236 & 251.
- ³⁰ Pétis de La Croix (1765) *The Thousand and One Days*, 236.
- ³¹ Yatim (2012) “Freemasonry and the Mystic Schools of the East,” 26. Poole (1937) “The Graham Manuscript,” 29, claims to have found a reference in the British Library to a certain Shihāb al-Dīn Yatmūnī, but of this individual I can discover no trace, nor does there appear to be a place named Yatmūn.
- ³² Saudi Arabia is reported to have the highest frequency of the surname *per capita* (approx. 1:110,000); Forebears – Chehabeddine Surname, online at <https://forebears.io/surnames/chehabeddine>, accessed 12 May, 2020. However, a Google search requiring both “Chehabeddine” and “Lebanon” returned 15,600 hits, whereas one requiring both “Chehabeddine” and “Saudi” returned just 3,480 hits; searches performed 12 May, 2020.
- ³³ J.T. Desaguliers (2011) “The Masonic ‘Secret Word’ – What Does it Mean?,” 26 Nov, online at <http://www.abovetopsecret.com/forum/thread567309/pg1#pid12887925>; accessed 4 Dec, 2016. An alternative suggestion is that, following the Umayyad conquest of Spain, “it was heard many times by the Franks from 732 AD onward, was carried, probably as a curiosity, by the French Stone masons into Scotland, or perhaps to England first, and was adopted by the operative masons as a unique word of identity;” Baldwin (ca. 1985?) *The Mason Word*, online at http://www.masonicworld.com/education/files/may05/mason_word.htm, accessed 12 May, 2020. More cynically, it has been suggested of the Arabic-sounding Masonic words in *The Grand Mystery Laid Open* (1726) that “the author had got hold of some book about the Saracens and had copied Arabic terms from it in order to make his own Mystery more mysterious in sound, if not in fact” Lepper (1937) [Comments on H. Poole (1937) “The Graham Manuscript”], 20.
- ³⁴ Bogdan (2014) “Freemasonry and Western Esotericism,” 296-297.
- ³⁵ Bogdan (2014) “Freemasonry and Western Esotericism,” 297.
- ³⁶ University of Bradford – Web of Hiram – Lectures of the Holy Royal Arch – Lecture I, online at https://www.brad.ac.uk/webofhiram/?section=lectures_royal_arch&page=RALEC1.html; accessed 15 May, 2020.
- ³⁷ Harvey (1974) “Royal Arch Masonry in Ireland in the Early 19th Century,” online at <http://www.royal-arch.irish-freemasonry.org.uk/RAC%20IN%20IREL.%20Volume%20XVI.htm>; accessed 15 May,

- 2020; Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Ireland (1954) *Laws and Regulations of the Supreme Grand Royal Arch Chapter of Ireland*, 85.
- ³⁸ E.g., for England; Harvey (1974) “Royal Arch Masonry in Ireland in the Early 19th Century;” University of Bradford – Web of Hiram – Lectures of the Holy Royal Arch – Lecture I, online at https://www.brad.ac.uk/webofhiram/?section=lectures_royal_arch&page=RALEC1.html, accessed 15 May, 2020. The correct pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton would have been forgotten during the Babylonian captivity, and the setting of the non-Irish rites aligns temporally with this loss.
- ³⁹ For *heurēkamen* (εὐρήκαμεν), as in John 1:41 & 1:45, the Greek letter *rho* (ρ) having morphed into a Latin “p.” See Bible Hub – Englishman’s Concordance, online at https://biblehub.com/greek/heure_kamen_2147.htm; accessed 15 May, 2020.
- ⁴⁰ Brown (2009) *The Lost Symbol*.
- ⁴¹ Rich (2009) “Dan Brown’s ‘Lost Symbol’ Sells 1 Million Copies in the First Day.” The accolade “fastest selling novel” relates to books for adult readers.
- ⁴² Epithet from the banner on the Lodge’s website, online at <https://www.quatuorcoronati.com/about-qc-lodge/getting-involved/>; accessed 11 May, 2020. The reading of the paper to the Lodge is evident from the Table of Contents on <https://www.mymagazinesub.co.uk/qccc/back-issues/details/issue-131-ars-quatuor-coronatorum-aqc/>; accessed 11 May, 2020.
- ⁴³ Acaster (2018) “The Noah Legend and the Graham Manuscript – A Fresh Appreciation of *The Whole Institutions of Free Masonry Opened* and its Significance Today.”
- ⁴⁴ Acaster (2018) “The Noah Legend and the Graham Manuscript,” p.17 of the offprint available online.
- ⁴⁵ Mainguy (2016) “Le Manuscript Graham;” quotation from p.43.
- ⁴⁶ “Speculative Masonic rituals” meaning “rituals of Speculative Masonry.” Speculative Masonry is the domain of modern Freemasons, as distinct from operative masonry (the practice of stoneworking and designing/constructing buildings).
- ⁴⁷ Acaster (2018) “The Noah Legend and the Graham Manuscript,” p.19 of the offprint available online.
- ⁴⁸ As the Past King jewel bears the date 1961, I presume he was Excellent King in 1960; such jewels are normally struck and presented in the following year.
- ⁴⁹ For a history of the Lodge, see Ingram (1990) “The Early Years of the Military Lodge of Ireland 728 (1846-1922) and Some of its Famous Brethren.”
- ⁵⁰ For a history of the Lodge, see Irish Masonic History and the Jewels of Irish Freemasonry – Lodge of Research, online at <http://www.irishmasonichistory.com/lodge-of-research-no-cc-members-jewel.html>; accessed 15 May, 2020.
- ⁵¹ Full membership is only open to Serving and Past Masters of Craft lodges. Bashford (2007) “Irish Craft Jewels and Medals,” 124-126; online at http://www.irishmasonichistory.com/uploads/1/0/3/8/10381775/irish_craft_jewels_and_medals.pdf accessed 15 May, 2020.
- ⁵² The Grand Lodge of Instruction is the body charged with responsibility for ritual matters within The Grand Lodge of Ireland. For details, see Barnett (1992) “Masonic Visitation – Ireland. 6. The Grand Lodge of Instruction.”

Chapter 12

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 28 Oct, 2017.

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- ¹ Stevenson (1914) *Heraldry in Scotland*, vol. 1, 19.
- ² Civic Heraldry of England & Wales – Ecclesiastical Heraldry – Arms of Bishoprics – St. James, online at Web #022.
- ³ Civic Heraldry of England & Wales – St. James, online at Web #022.
- ⁴ Odio (2010) “Clavijo, Battle of;” Whitman (2012) *The Verdict of Battle: The Law of Victory and the Making of Modern War*, 47; Mustoe (2005) *Amber, Furs and Cockleshells: Bike Rides with Pilgrims and Merchants*, 202-203.
- ⁵ Menocal (2002) *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain*, 6-7; Lowney (2005) *A Vanished World: Muslims, Christians, and Jews in Medieval Spain*, 39-40; Fletcher (1992) *Moorish Spain*, 10.
- ⁶ Civic Heraldry of England & Wales – St. James, online at Web #022.
- ⁷ Stevenson (1903) “The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams,” 178-179.
- ⁸ Stevenson (1903) “The Grahams: The First Line of the Grahams,” 180.
- ⁹ Clan Graham Society – About the Grahams – Clan Motto and Colors, online at Web #001.
- ¹⁰ Clan Graham Society – Clan Motto and Colors, online at Web #001.
- ¹¹ McAndrew (2006) *Scotland’s Historic Heraldry*, 216 (Chart 10.8).
- ¹² Nichols (2013) “Grahams Walk ‘The Way’ of St. James and Sir Patrick de Graham.”
- ¹³ Internet Movie Database – The Way (2010), online at <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1441912/>.
- ¹⁴ Murray & Graham (1997) “Exploring the Dialectics of Route-Based Tourism: the Camino de Santiago.”
- ¹⁵ Vaz da Silva (2008) *The Archeology of Intangible Heritage*, 99.
- ¹⁶ Catedral de Santiago – Cathedral – History, online at <http://catedraldesantiago.es/en/cathedral/>.
- ¹⁷ Catedral de Santiago – Cathedral – Art, online at <http://catedraldesantiago.es/en/cathedral/>.
- ¹⁸ Wikimedia Commons – File:Cathédrale-de-Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelles.JPG, online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Cath%C3%A9drale-de-Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelles.JPG>.
- ¹⁹ Image by jynus, based on Image:Europe countries.svg by User:Tintazul. Wikimedia Commons – File:Routes de St jacques de Compostelle.svg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Routes_de_St_jacques_de_Compostelle.svg.
- ²⁰ Author’s photograph, taken 24 Oct, 2017.
- ²¹ As a personal aside, my maternal grandfather – Walter McCamley, who featured earlier in the footnotes to Chapter 4 – worked for Shell (Ireland) for most of his life.
- ²² DeWebsite – The History Behind the Shell Logo, online at Web #026.
- ²³ Shell Global – About Us – The Shell Brand, online at Web #023.
- ²⁴ Shell Global – The Shell Brand, online at Web #023.
- ²⁵ Shell Global – The Shell Brand, online at Web #023.
- ²⁶ Shell (2015) “100 Years of the Pecten: The History Behind the Shell Emblem,” online at Web #024; Logo Design Love – Shell Logo Evolution, online at Web #025; DeWebsite – The History Behind the Shell Logo, online at Web #026.
- ²⁷ Shell (2015) “100 Years of the Pecten: The History Behind the Shell Emblem,” online at Web #024; Logo Design Love – Shell Logo Evolution, online at Web #025; DeWebsite – The History Behind the Shell Logo, online at Web #026.
- ²⁸ Shell (2015) “100 Years of the Pecten: The History Behind the Shell Emblem,” online at Web #024; Logo Design Love – Shell Logo Evolution, online at Web #025; DeWebsite – The History Behind the Shell Logo, online at Web #026.
- ²⁹ Shell Global – About Us – The Shell Brand, online at Web #023.
- ³⁰ A major protest group was/is Shell to Sea, online at <http://www.shelltosea.com/>. Shell’s perspective is presented at Shell Ireland – Corrib Gas Project, online at <http://www.shell.ie/about-us/projects-and-sites/corrib-gas-project.html>.
- ³¹ **Book:** Siggins (2010) *Once Upon a Time in the West: The Corrib Gas Controversy*. **Films:** Vimeo – Pipe Down, online at <https://vimeo.com/8668733>; Fís Nua – “Pipe Down” Best Feature Documentary at the Waterford Film Festival 2009, online at <http://fisnua.com/make-a-foreshore-submission-to->

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- [gormley/](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1674204/); Internet Movie Database – The Pipe (2010), online at <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1674204/>; for its awards, see Internet Movie Database – The Pipe (2010) – Awards, online at http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1674204/awards?ref=tt_awd.
- ³² One of several screenings on SBS was on 30 Jul 2014.
- ³³ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 82.
- ³⁴ Graham (1911) “The Barony of Liddel and its Occupants,” 82.
- ³⁵ Wikimedia Commons – File:Santiago de Compostela, 18e iuwsk byld fan Jakobus de Moarendeader.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Santiago_de_Compostela,_18e_iuwsk_byld_fan_Jakobus_de_Moarendeader.jpg.
- ³⁶ Clan Graham Society – Clan Motto and Colors, online at Web #001.
- ³⁷ Fortune Global 500 (2016), online at <http://fortune.com/global500>.
- ³⁸ Not only are the J1 Grahams populous, but they form the largest set of closely-related Scottish Grahams; they are also the oldest group by some 800 years (Chapter 8). The Graham Surname Project calls them “Typical Grahams” (Chapter 2); in terms of genetic genealogy, they constitute the nucleus of the House of Graham.
- ³⁹ Mustoe (2005) *Amber, Furs and Cockleshells: Bike Rides with Pilgrims and Merchants*, 203; Gibbs (1996-7) “Forging a Unique Spanish Christian Identity: Santiago and El Cid in the Reconquista;” Gitlitz & Davidson (2000) *The Pilgrimage Road to Santiago: The Complete Cultural Handbook*, 260. The slogan was the motto of the Knights of St. James, an order mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Chapter 13

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 1 Aug, 2019.

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- ¹ Billy Graham was a Southern Baptist whereas Mentor was a Primitive (or “Hard-Shell”) Baptist. The latter’s grandfather had moved the family from North Carolina to Kentucky just 13 years prior to Mentor’s birth. Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham – The Man who Taught Lincoln*, xv, 6, 8, 12, 17 & 91.
- ² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*; Duncan (1958) *Lincoln’s Teacher*.
- ³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 21 & 30.
- ⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 209, 212 & 215.
- ⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 39 & 42-44 & 46.
- ⁶ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 47-49.
- ⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 77.
- ⁸ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 126, map. The same point has been made in relation to Billy Graham and Lyndon Johnson’s presence at the inauguration of Richard Nixon; Fraser (2008) *The Steel Bonnets – The Story of the Anglo-Scottish Border Reivers*, 1. For that matter, Mentor’s brother was named Johnson Graham; Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 11.
- ⁹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 58, 62, 77 & 123.
- ¹⁰ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 45, 136 & 250.
- ¹¹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, frontispiece (opposite title page).
- ¹² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 92.
- ¹³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 78-80.
- ¹⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 80-81.
- ¹⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 83-84.
- ¹⁶ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 1 & 86-87.
- ¹⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 91-100.
- ¹⁸ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 106, 112, 120 & 135.
- ¹⁹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 92.
- ²⁰ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 97-98.
- ²¹ This quotation relates to a few years later, i.e. 1834; Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 150.
- ²² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 102.
- ²³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 122, 152-153 & 174.
- ²⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 123. Duncan (1958) *Lincoln’s Teacher*, 127, observes wryly that it is always the narrator’s ancestor who is credited with freeing Lincoln’s boat.
- ²⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 130-131; Duncan (1958) *Lincoln’s Teacher*, 138.
- ²⁶ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 251; Duncan (1958) *Lincoln’s Teacher*, 128-129.
- ²⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 125.
- ²⁸ “Had you subtracted all of Graham’s kin from New Salem – the Abells, Elmores, Onstots, Potters, Goldsbys, Herndons, Raffertys, and Greenes – you would have halved the town. The community of New Salem, before the mill was built, was nothing more or less than a Graham plantation.” Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 138. The total population was less than 100 people (p.146).
- ²⁹ Duncan (1958) *Lincoln’s Teacher*, 144.
- ³⁰ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 129-130.
- ³¹ Duncan (1958) *Lincoln’s Teacher*, 132.
- ³² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 128-129; similarly Mentor’s letter to Herndon (p.252).
- ³³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 137; Duncan (1958) *Lincoln’s Teacher*, 135. The exact nature of Ann’s relationship with Abraham remains controversial, with some historians sceptical that they were ever engaged.
- ³⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 134-135.
- ³⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 142.
- ³⁶ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 142-143, 147 & 152.
- ³⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, facing p.142.
- ³⁸ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 148.
- ³⁹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 149-150.

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- ⁴⁰ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 155-156.
- ⁴¹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 158-159 & 253.
- ⁴² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 160-161.
- ⁴³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 162-165.
- ⁴⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 172.
- ⁴⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 173-174.
- ⁴⁶ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 175-176.
- ⁴⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 177-178.
- ⁴⁸ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 179.
- ⁴⁹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 181-182.
- ⁵⁰ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 182.
- ⁵¹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 184.
- ⁵² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 185-186. Such lawsuits were common in those days; Mentor later sued one of his own sons for repayment of \$270, even though he had no need of the money – it was done merely to make a point about honour and responsibility (p.228).
- ⁵³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 188.
- ⁵⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 186.
- ⁵⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 193.
- ⁵⁶ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 193-194.
- ⁵⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 197-198.
- ⁵⁸ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 199-200.
- ⁵⁹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 200-201.
- ⁶⁰ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 204.
- ⁶¹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 202 & 204-205.
- ⁶² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 207-208.
- ⁶³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 212.
- ⁶⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 214-216, 219 & 222.
- ⁶⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 219.
- ⁶⁶ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 222.
- ⁶⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 222.
- ⁶⁸ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 223.
- ⁶⁹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 224.
- ⁷⁰ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 224-227.
- ⁷¹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 231.
- ⁷² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 232.
- ⁷³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 233 & 238.
- ⁷⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 233-235.
- ⁷⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 237.
- ⁷⁶ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 237.
- ⁷⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 238.
- ⁷⁸ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 238.
- ⁷⁹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 239-240.
- ⁸⁰ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, facing p.214.
- ⁸¹ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, facing p.230.
- ⁸² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 239.
- ⁸³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 238.
- ⁸⁴ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 250.
- ⁸⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 253.
- ⁸⁶ [Lincoln] (1905) *The Autobiography of Abraham Lincoln*, 19.
- ⁸⁷ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 144.
- ⁸⁸ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, ix, 241 & 244-245.
- ⁸⁹ Duncan (1958) *Lincoln's Teacher*, 128-131 & 138-139.
- ⁹⁰ [Lincoln] (1905) *Autobiography*, 3.
- ⁹¹ Others, pushing back against the modern-day “Lincoln cult,” reveal not the saint of popular imagination but a ruthless and manipulative politician with many human failings; DiLorenzo (2006) *Lincoln Unmasked – What You're Not Supposed to Know About Dishonest Abe*.

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- ⁹² Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 175.
- ⁹³ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*. A supplementary publication appeared in 1958, providing additional detail on the Kentucky years, and thus on the childhood, early manhood and early teaching career of Mentor Graham; Duncan (1958) *Lincoln's Teacher*.
- ⁹⁴ Vachel Lindsay (1931) "Tribute to Lincoln's Tutor," *Illinois State Journal Centennial* (pagination unknown). Preserved in scrapbook form in *Lincoln Poetry – Poets: Vachel Lindsay, Excerpts from Newspapers and other Sources from the Files of the Lincoln Financial Foundation Collection*, online at https://archive.org/details/lincolnpetrypoelinc_35/page/n11.
- ⁹⁵ Duncan & Nickols (1944) *Mentor Graham*, 122.
- ⁹⁶ [Lincoln] (1905) *Autobiography*, 3-29. Likewise, he is not mentioned in the even shorter autobiographical sketch written for Fell in 1859, which appears in the same book (p.31-36).
- ⁹⁷ Donald (1995) *Lincoln*, 42.
- ⁹⁸ Donald (1995) *Lincoln*, 48. Donald describes both Lincoln and Graham as self-taught; it is remarkable how the application of the term to the former constitutes praise (p.48) whereas its application to the latter constitutes criticism (p.41).
- ⁹⁹ E.g., Duncan (1958) *Lincoln's Teacher*, 152-174.
- ¹⁰⁰ Buley (1945) "Reviewed Work(s): *Mentor Graham: The Man Who Taught Lincoln* by Kunigunde Duncan and D. F. Nickols."
- ¹⁰¹ Basler (1945) "Reviewed Work(s): *The First Lincoln Campaign* by Reinhard H. Luthin; *Mentor Graham: The Man Who Taught Lincoln* by Kunigunde Duncan and D. F. Nichols," 161-163.
- ¹⁰² Thomas (2008) *Abraham Lincoln – A Biography*, 27.
- ¹⁰³ McPherson (2009) *Abraham Lincoln*, 7.

Chapter 14

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 1 Aug, 2019.

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- ¹ From [John Kay] (1877) *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the Late John Kay*, vol. 1, Pl. 11. Etching by J. Kay, 1785, online at <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/p6w93ey5>.
- ² Porter (2017) "Graham, James."
- ³ Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess of Health: Or, the Whole Art of Preventing and Curing Diseases*, 34.
- ⁴ Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 34.
- ⁵ Porter (2017) "Graham, James;" Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love – James Graham and his Celestial Bed*, 16, defends such non-graduation as entirely normal. In 1779, James published an acrostic in verse to the pattern of DOCTORGRAHAM; Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 105. His appropriation of the M.D. suffix is evident in, for example, the title page of Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*.
- ⁶ M. Admin (2016) "The Unsettling 'Celestial Bed' That Would Cure All Your Ailments," online at Web #027; Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 1.
- ⁷ [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028.
- ⁸ For an etching of the façade in 1850, see e.g. Wikimedia Commons – File:Schomberg House c1850.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Schomberg_House_c1850.jpg.
- ⁹ Wikimedia Commons – File:Schomberg House, Pall Mall in 2005.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Schomberg_House_Pall_Mall_in_2005.jpg.
- ¹⁰ [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028; Porter (2017) "Graham, James." Some of these clients, and others not named in the quotation, are listed in Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 36-37.
- ¹¹ [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028; Porter (2017) "Graham, James." Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 156-157, treats as factual the trope that Hart was one of Dr. Graham's models. Others, however, dismiss the possibility outright and are correspondingly critical of Syson's endorsement; Gatrell (2008) "*Doctor of Love: James Graham and his Celestial Bed* by Lydia Syson – Review."
- ¹² Royal Greenwich Museums, Unidentified Prints & Drawings Number: Lot 560, ID number: PAF4385. Wikimedia Commons – File:Emma Hart afterwards Lady Hamilton as the goddess of health while being exhibited in that character by Dr Graham in Pall Mall by R Cosway RMG PW4385.tiff, at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Emma_Hart_afterwards_Lady_Hamilton_as_the_goddess_of_health_while_being_exhibited_in_that_character_by_Dr_Graham_in_Pall_Mall_by_R_Cosway_RMG_PW4385.tiff. Reservations as to the woman's identity are expressed by Geoff Wright (2016) "Emma's Mother: The Unseen Power," Royal Museums Greenwich website, post of 13 Dec, online at <https://www.rmg.co.uk/discover/behind-the-scenes/blog/emma%E2%80%99s-mother-unseen-power>. See also the cautionary information in the previous note.
- ¹³ [James Graham] (1782) *Il Convito Amorofo, Or, A Serio-Comico-Philosophical Lecture on the Causes, Nature and Effects of Love and Beauty*, 52-68. Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 225, characterises this tract – which appeared late in the doctor's Temple phase – as "a heavily eroticised version of the theories Graham had been promoting for years."
- ¹⁴ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 136-137 suggests that Dr. Graham would have attended (or at least tried to attend) one of Mesmer's salons, since both men were in Paris during 1779.
- ¹⁵ Porter (2017) "Graham, James."
- ¹⁶ [James Graham] (1780) *A Lecture on the Generation, Increase and Improvement of the Human Species*, 44. Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 212, reports that this particular edition was a pirated version of the lecture's transcript, as betrayed by the immodest engraving on p.1 and addition of the titillating prefix ("A Genuine Libidinous Lecture...") to the title on p.2.
- ¹⁷ For a good overview, Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 200-201.
- ¹⁸ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 29-30.
- ¹⁹ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 53.
- ²⁰ Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 2-6.
- ²¹ Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 7-10 & 23-24.
- ²² Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 10-14, 24 & 36.

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- ²³ Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 16.
- ²⁴ Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 27-30.
- ²⁵ Porter (2017) "Graham, James."
- ²⁶ [James Graham] (ca. 1780) *A Sketch: Or, Short Description of Dr. Graham's Medical Apparatus*, 6. Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 3 calls it "vast and unmistakeably phallic."
- ²⁷ [Graham] (ca. 1780) *A Sketch*, 6-7
- ²⁸ James Graham Lecturing from a Podium, to a Crowd of Ladies and Gentlemen. Etching by J. Boyne, 1783; online at <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/ph67suq3>.
- ²⁹ [Graham] (ca. 1780) *A Sketch*, 10-11.
- ³⁰ [Graham] (ca. 1780) *A Sketch*, 12-18.
- ³¹ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 5-7.
- ³² [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 21.
- ³³ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 17.
- ³⁴ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 23; [Graham] (1782) *Il Convito Amoroso*, 87-88.
- ³⁵ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 24.
- ³⁶ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 25.
- ³⁷ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 204, indicates that this was a common enough notion in Graham's time, representative of a belief that – in terms of reproductive machinery – women were simply inside-out versions of men. Accordingly, women too were considered to ejaculate a semen-like fluid during orgasm; Tissot (1760/1820) *L'Onanisme*, Lausanne/Paris, 100-101.
- ³⁸ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 25. As per the previous note, Dr. Graham's scenario would – rephrased in modern terminology – relate to men and women who reach the age of 20 years without experiencing orgasm.
- ³⁹ [Graham] (1782) *Il Convito Amoroso*, 70.
- ⁴⁰ [James Graham] (1783) *A Private Advice to Married Ladies and Gentlemen*, 8.
- ⁴¹ [Graham] (1783) *A Private Advice*, 11.
- ⁴² Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 4.
- ⁴³ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 34-35.
- ⁴⁴ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 40-41 & 50; discussed by Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 155.
- ⁴⁵ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 41.
- ⁴⁶ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 52.
- ⁴⁷ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 45-46.
- ⁴⁸ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 44.
- ⁴⁹ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 56.
- ⁵⁰ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 63.
- ⁵¹ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 61-62.
- ⁵² [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 58; [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028. Franklin himself was in Britain when Dr. Graham was in Philadelphia; Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 45. Graham's claim to have later met Franklin in Paris during 1779 may well be true; Porter (2017) "Graham, James," and Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 138.
- ⁵³ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 58.
- ⁵⁴ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 58-60.
- ⁵⁵ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 58.
- ⁵⁶ [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028.
- ⁵⁷ [Graham] (1782) *Il Convito Amoroso*, 65. As mentioned above, the giant phallic electrode in the Temple of Health was also a Prime Conductor.
- ⁵⁸ [Graham] (1782) *Il Convito Amoroso*, 66.
- ⁵⁹ [Graham] (1782) *Il Convito Amoroso*, 65. On Dr. Graham's electrical interpretation of the sex act, see Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 4-5 & 225.
- ⁶⁰ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 59.
- ⁶¹ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 181
- ⁶² [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028; [Graham] (1783) *A Private Advice*, 10-11.
- ⁶³ [Graham] (1783) *A Private Advice*, 10-11; similarly [Graham] (1782) *Il Convito Amoroso*, 93.
- ⁶⁴ Eric W. Nye (n.d.) *Pounds Sterling to Dollars: Historical Conversion of Currency*; convertor online at <https://www.uwyo.edu/numimage/currency.htm>.

- ⁶⁵ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 185-186; [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028.
- ⁶⁶ In particular, Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 182-186.
- ⁶⁷ Samuel Curwen, in his 1783 visit to Pall Mall not long before the Temple closed, records a rather less impressive Celestial Bed of 7 ft. square (i.e., something on the order of 3.5 x 2 ft.) raised 3 ft. from the floor on just 6 posts; at the head of the frame were two gilded balls of 4 inches diameter, between which arced a 1-inch spark. Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 227.
- ⁶⁸ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 185; Admin (2016) "The Unsettling 'Celestial Bed'," online at Web #027; [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028; Porter (2017) "Graham, James;" Tim Hunkin (2004) "Dr. Graham's Celestial Bed," [cartoon poster], online at Web #029.
- ⁶⁹ 15 cwt. in Imperial units; Porter (2017) "Graham, James."
- ⁷⁰ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 184; Sha (2010) "Book Reviews – Lydia Syson, *Doctor of Love: James Graham and his Celestial Bed*;" Tim Hunkin (2004) "Dr. Graham's Celestial Bed," online at Web #029.
- ⁷¹ [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028; [Graham] (ca. 1780) *A Sketch*, 15.
- ⁷² Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 183-184; [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028.
- ⁷³ Admin (2016) "The Unsettling 'Celestial Bed'," online at Web #027.
- ⁷⁴ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 182; Admin (2016) "The Unsettling 'Celestial Bed'," online at Web #027. Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 148-152, registers Graham's experimentation in "pneumatic chemistry," as such gas production was then called, and points out that the claimed effects of two of Dr. Graham's three proprietary medicines – his Electrical Æther and Nervous Ætherial Balsam – resemble the effects of nitrous oxide.
- ⁷⁵ Tim Hunkin (2004) "Dr. Graham's Celestial Bed," online at Web #029. There are no known illustrations of the Bed from Dr. Graham's own time.
- ⁷⁶ Admin (2016) "The Unsettling 'Celestial Bed'," online at Web #027.
- ⁷⁷ [Star Guest] (2011) "The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr," online at Web #028.
- ⁷⁸ Officially, a marriage licence had to be produced; Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 192.
- ⁷⁹ [Graham] (1782) *Il Convito Amorofo*, 93-94; Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 193.
- ⁸⁰ Quoted by Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 8.
- ⁸¹ [Theatre Royal] (1781) *Songs, Duets, Trios, etc. in The Genius of Nonsense*, 14; Porter (2017) "Graham, James." Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 173-175, discusses *The Genius of Nonsense* and describes the real Dr. Graham's presence in the audience on the show's opening night.
- ⁸² [Anon.] (1781) *The Celestial Beds, Or, A Review of the Votaries [...]*, 34.
- ⁸³ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 171-172, 192-194, 215-216, 228 & 238, cites numerous examples from the deluge of self-righteous satire published by the anti-quackery brigade and other detractors.
- ⁸⁴ Lewis (1965) *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, vol. 33, 217 [letter to Lady Ossory, 23 Aug, 1780]. For establishment pushback in Newcastle during 1779, see Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 124.
- ⁸⁵ Graham (ca. 1781) *The Guardian Goddess*, 35.
- ⁸⁶ Two Unorthodox Medical Practitioners. Etching, 1783, online at <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/be46h4kc>. The parody is discussed by Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 229-230.
- ⁸⁷ Porter (2017) "Graham, James."
- ⁸⁸ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 233-236.
- ⁸⁹ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 240.
- ⁹⁰ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 242-245 & 256.
- ⁹¹ Porter (2017) "Graham, James;" Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 245 & 256.
- ⁹² Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 247-250.
- ⁹³ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 248-25; Porter (2017) "Graham, James."
- ⁹⁴ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 260-261.
- ⁹⁵ Porter (2017) "Graham, James."
- ⁹⁶ Porter (2017) "Graham, James;" Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 254.
- ⁹⁷ Portrait of J. Graham Delivering a Lecture, online at <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/ghj9srd6>.
- ⁹⁸ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 52.

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- ⁹⁹ Admin (2016) “The Unsettling ‘Celestial Bed’,” online at Web #027; [Star Guest] (2011) “The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr,” online at Web #028.
- ¹⁰⁰ Porter (2017) “Graham, James.”
- ¹⁰¹ Arnold (2009) “Book – James Graham’s Electrical Escapades.” On Dr. Graham’s feminist ideology, see Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 228-229.
- ¹⁰² Jacqui Lofthouse (1995) *The Temple of Hymen*. Dr. Graham is central to the novel’s plot, and the book is replete with the good doctor’s own words, as preserved in his pamphlets. In the story, action involving the doctor primarily takes place at his first institution (the Temple of Health in the Adelphi apartments) rather than at his second one (the Temple of Hymen in Pall Mall).
- ¹⁰³ Emma Lyon is positioned within the novel as the successor to Emilia Beaumont in the role of Dr. Graham’s goddess (his “Vestina”).
- ¹⁰⁴ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 156-158; Geoff Wright (2016) “Emma’s Mother: The Unseen Power,” Royal Museums Greenwich, post of 13 Dec, online at <https://www.rmg.co.uk/discover/behind-the-scenes/blog/emma%E2%80%99s-mother-unseen-power>.
- ¹⁰⁵ Sha (2010) “Book Reviews – Lydia Syson, *Doctor of Love*.”
- ¹⁰⁶ Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*.
- ¹⁰⁷ Arnold (2009) “Book – James Graham’s electrical escapades.”
- ¹⁰⁸ Bompas & Parr, online at <http://bompasandparr.com/>.
- ¹⁰⁹ [Star Guest] (2011) “The Celestial Bed Installation by Bompas & Parr,” online at Web #028.
- ¹¹⁰ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America – Sylvester Graham and Health Reform*, 9-10; Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization – Sylvester Graham, Health Reform, and the Origins of Victorian Sexuality in America*, 57; Shprintzen (2013) *The Vegetarian Crusade – The Rise of an American Reform Movement, 1817-1921*, 16.
- ¹¹¹ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 10-12 & 15.
- ¹¹² Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 12-13; Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 58; [Gale] (2004) “Sylvester Graham.”
- ¹¹³ [Gale] (2004) “Sylvester Graham;” Tompkins (2012) “‘She Made the Table a Snare to Them’ – Sylvester Graham’s Imperial Dietetics,” 88.
- ¹¹⁴ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men on Chastity*, 51-51 & 158-159; O’Neill (2016) “The Graham Cracker was Invented to Stop You from Masturbating.”
- ¹¹⁵ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 51-51, 132, 136-137 & 152; Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 33-36; Kyla W. Tompkins (2009) “Sylvester Graham’s Imperial Dietetics,” 55; Tompkins (2012) “‘She Made the Table a Snare to Them,’” 81.
- ¹¹⁶ Shryock (1931) “Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement, 1830-1870,” 178.
- ¹¹⁷ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 91-93; O’Neill (2016) “The Graham Cracker.”
- ¹¹⁸ Shryock (1931) “Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement,” 173.
- ¹¹⁹ Wikimedia Commons – File:Sylvester Graham sketch.png, image from Nichols (1883) *Dr. Nichols’ Penny Vegetarian Cookery*, 3, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sylvester_Graham_sketch.png.
- ¹²⁰ An epithet applied to Sylvester by Ralph Waldo Emerson; Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 3 & 48.
- ¹²¹ Wikimedia Commons – File:Sylvester Graham LCCN99406591.jpg, image from Library of Congress Prints & Photographs, digital ID cph.3c23830, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sylvester_Graham_LCCN99406591.jpg.
- ¹²² Tompkins (2009) “Sylvester Graham’s Imperial Dietetics,” 50; Tompkins (2012) “‘She Made the Table a Snare to Them,’” 54.
- ¹²³ For analysis and commentary, see Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 105-121.
- ¹²⁴ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 40.
- ¹²⁵ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 42-43.
- ¹²⁶ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 48-49.
- ¹²⁷ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 58.
- ¹²⁸ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 78-79.
- ¹²⁹ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 95.
- ¹³⁰ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 5.
- ¹³¹ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 96-97.
- ¹³² Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 96.

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- ¹³³ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 97-100.
- ¹³⁴ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 101.
- ¹³⁵ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 20.
- ¹³⁶ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 50-51.
- ¹³⁷ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 63.
- ¹³⁸ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 64. For commentary, Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 119, and Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 86.
- ¹³⁹ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 73. In this, the 2nd edition of his *Lecture*, Sylvester admits that he received a great deal of pushback concerning his sexual speed-limit; Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 166. On this topic in general, see Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 30.
- ¹⁴⁰ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 69 (aptly enough).
- ¹⁴¹ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 73, 123-124 & 136.
- ¹⁴² Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 80.
- ¹⁴³ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 14; [Gale] (2004) "Sylvester Graham."
- ¹⁴⁴ For James, see previous section. For James' Presbyterian upbringing and (occasionally hysterical) early faith, see Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 11, 77 & 159.
- ¹⁴⁵ James' wife opposed his religious mania in later life; Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 252. Sylvester's wife opposed his dietary strictures on an ongoing basis; Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 146.
- ¹⁴⁶ For Sylvester, Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 20 & 29; application of the title "Dr." to Sylvester by a writer of his day can be seen in a quotation in Tompkins (2012) "'She Made the Table a Snare to Them,'" 65. To distinguish the two men, however, I will refer only to Dr. James Graham as "Dr. Graham," since (a) unlike Sylvester, James claimed for himself the qualification of M.D., and (b) the convention of referring to James as "Dr. Graham" was established in the previous section.
- ¹⁴⁷ For James, see previous section; for Sylvester, Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 14 & 78 and Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 71.
- ¹⁴⁸ For Sylvester Graham: Shryock (1931) "Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement," 174, Tompkins (2009) "Sylvester Graham's Imperial Dietetics," 52, and Tompkins (2012) "'She Made the Table a Snare to Them,'" 65; for Dr. James Graham see previous section.
- ¹⁴⁹ For Sylvester Graham: Shryock (1931) "Sylvester Graham and the Popular Health Movement," 179, and Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 124-125; for Dr. James Graham, see previous section.
- ¹⁵⁰ As we saw in the previous section, Dr. James Graham believed that loss of semen was the driving factor in the loss of vigour and health that he claimed were associated with masturbation. Sylvester disagreed with this widely-held opinion and instead thought the overstimulation of the nervous system was the driving force behind the (imagined) adverse health effects; Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 46-47.
- ¹⁵¹ O'Neill (2016) "The Graham Cracker."
- ¹⁵² "Farinaceous" denotes starchy foodstuffs, especially wheat and bread; Tompkins (2012) "'She Made the Table a Snare to Them,'" 64 & 78.
- ¹⁵³ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 33-34.
- ¹⁵⁴ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 33.
- ¹⁵⁵ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 33 & 37; Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 6, 140, 187 & 234; Porter (2017) "Graham, James."
- ¹⁵⁶ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 135. Similarly, Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 99.
- ¹⁵⁷ [Graham] (1780) *Generation*, 44.
- ¹⁵⁸ For Dr. James Graham, see Syson (2008) *Doctor of Love*, 258 & 261; his commitment to the simplest and most abstemious of diets strengthened in later life. For Sylvester, some of his dietary beliefs have already been provided, and these will be expanded upon later in this section. The latter's antipathy to adulterated bread find a clear expression in Graham (1837) *A Treatise on Bread and Bread-Making*, 43-49; for commentary on its later amplification, see Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 6.
- ¹⁵⁹ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 127.
- ¹⁶⁰ Graham (1838) *A Lecture on Epidemic Diseases Generally, and Particularly the Spasmodic Cholera*, 26 & 61. Sylvester argued that dietary stimulants and intoxicants were the cause of the vomiting and diarrhoea associated with cholera; in a healthy individual, these responses served to expel the poisons and restore health. In contrast, in an individual long debilitated by an unhealthy diet and lifestyle, the inflamed nervous system responded to any adverse gastrointestinal stimulus with such excessive and

- self-amplifying violence that it could easily lead to death. Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 93-95
- ¹⁶¹ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 109-110.
- ¹⁶² Rosenberg (1981) “*Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* by Stephen Nissenbaum.”
- ¹⁶³ [Anon.] (1938) “An American ‘Physiological’ Society of 1837.” Paradoxically, Sylvester never joined the society himself; Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 146.
- ¹⁶⁴ American Physiological Society – History & Founders, online at <https://www.the-aps.org/about/welcome/Founders?SSO=Y>; American Physiological Society – Welcome to APS, online at <https://www.the-aps.org/about/welcome?SSO=Y>.
- ¹⁶⁵ For details of the *Journal* and the boarding-houses, see Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 142-143.
- ¹⁶⁶ Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 131.
- ¹⁶⁷ Graham (1837) *A Treatise on Bread*. In his emphasis on the superiority of food prepared and baked at home, Sylvester had opted “to sentimentalize this nurturing social environment, and to shun the impersonal and menacing capitalist market-place that had replaced it;” Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 9.
- ¹⁶⁸ Tompkins (2009) “Sylvester Graham’s Imperial Dietetics,” 50; Tompkins (2012) “‘She Made the Table a Snare to Them,’” 64-65.
- ¹⁶⁹ Tompkins (2012) “‘She Made the Table a Snare to Them,’” 61 & 77.
- ¹⁷⁰ Tompkins (2009) “Sylvester Graham’s Imperial Dietetics,” 57.
- ¹⁷¹ Tompkins (2009) “Sylvester Graham’s Imperial Dietetics,” 50-53; Tompkins (2012) “‘She Made the Table a Snare to Them,’” 71.
- ¹⁷² Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 14. Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 143, observes that it did not sell well.
- ¹⁷³ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 125, records that Sylvester published nothing more about sexual health after *A Lecture to Young Men*. Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 100, ascribes Sylvester’s silence to the fact that sexuality had become a controversial and divisive issue.
- ¹⁷⁴ Graham (1849) *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*.
- ¹⁷⁵ [Gale] (2004) “Sylvester Graham.”
- ¹⁷⁶ Baker (1887) *Sylvester Graham’s Lectures on the Science of Human Life*.”
- ¹⁷⁷ Iacobbo & Iacobbo (2004) *Vegetarian America – A History*, 29 & 83.
- ¹⁷⁸ Tompkins (2009) “Sylvester Graham’s Imperial Dietetics,” 52.
- ¹⁷⁹ O’Neill (2016) “The Graham Cracker.” The virtues of coarse wheaten crackers are already mentioned in an appendix to his *Lecture to Young Men on Chastity*, p.164.
- ¹⁸⁰ O’Neill (2016) “The Graham Cracker.” Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 151, describes the circumstances in which the commercial version of the cracker first emerged.
- ¹⁸¹ O’Neill (2016) “The Graham Cracker;” Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 3.
- ¹⁸² O’Neill (2016) “The Graham Cracker.” Developed in 1925, allegedly by Boy Scouts, the name “s’more” is a contraction of “some more” – a reflection of the fact that eating one leads automatically to the desire to eat another.
- ¹⁸³ Smith (2009) *Eating History – 30 Turning Points in the Making of American Cuisine*, 35.
- ¹⁸⁴ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*; Rosenberg (1981) “*Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* by Stephen Nissenbaum.”
- ¹⁸⁵ Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*; Pivar (1984) “*Eros and Modernization: Sylvester Graham, Health Reform, and the Origins of Victorian Sexuality in America* by Jayme A. Sokolow.”
- ¹⁸⁶ Graham (1849) *Lectures on the Science of Human Life*, 226.
- ¹⁸⁷ Wikimedia Commons – File:American cookery (1915) (14781347931).jpg. Image originally in [National Biscuit Co.] (1915) [Advertisement]; the figure is cropped from the original image, which is online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:American_cookery_\(1915\)_14781347931.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:American_cookery_(1915)_14781347931.jpg).
- ¹⁸⁸ Wikimedia Commons – File:Graham-Cracker-Stack.jpg, online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Graham-Cracker-Stack.jpg>.
- ¹⁸⁹ Wikimedia Commons – File:S'more (smore) ingredients wrapped in string.jpeg, online at [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:S%27more_\(smore\)_ingredients_wrapped_in_string.jpeg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:S%27more_(smore)_ingredients_wrapped_in_string.jpeg).
- ¹⁹⁰ Wikimedia Commons – File:S'more.jpg, brightened relative to original image in order to improve clarity. Original online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:S%27more.jpg>.

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- ¹⁹¹ Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 122. Similarly Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 137, characterises the Grahamite man as a solitary and somewhat paranoid figure who could rely only upon his own resources to prevail over the hostile post-industrial environment that confronted him.
- ¹⁹² Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 14.
- ¹⁹³ Foster (1981) “*Sex, Diet, and Debility in Jacksonian America: Sylvester Graham and Health Reform* by Stephen Nissenbaum.”
- ¹⁹⁴ Iacobbo & Iacobbo (2004) *Vegetarian America*, 15; Misiroglu (2008/9) *American Countercultures – An Encyclopedia of Nonconformists, Alternative Lifestyles, and Radical Ideas in U.S. History*, 737.
- ¹⁹⁵ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 39 & 146; Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 101-102 & 153-155.
- ¹⁹⁶ Tompkins (2012) “‘She Made the Table a Snare to Them,’” 87.
- ¹⁹⁷ Smith (2009) *Eating History*, 30.
- ¹⁹⁸ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 94-101.
- ¹⁹⁹ Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 100, 117 & 120. For modern medical opinions of these diets, see e.g., Centers for Disease Control and Prevention – Healthy Weight – The Health Effects of Overweight and Obesity, online at <https://www.cdc.gov/healthyweight/effects/index.html>; James Gallagher (2015) “Processed Meats Do Cause Cancer – WHO,” 26 Oct, BBC News, online at <https://www.bbc.com/news/health-34615621>; Perry (2019) “Diets High in Red Meat Linked with Greater Health Risks in Two New Studies.”
- ²⁰⁰ Today the highly-regarded Seventh Day Adventist hospital in Sydney (founded 1903) is still locally referred to as “the San,” and presumably the same is true of its sister institutions worldwide. Consistent with the Grahamite influence on early SDA healthcare, the main emphasis of its in-patient menu remains vegetarian [Our Services – The San Menu, online at <https://www.sah.org.au/the-san-menu>].
- ²⁰¹ O’Neill (2016) “The Graham Cracker,” Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 121 & 153.
- ²⁰² Graham (1837) *A Treatise on Bread*, 17-18 & 26; Tompkins (2012) “‘She Made the Table a Snare to Them,’” 84.
- ²⁰³ Mayo Clinic – Nutrition and Healthy Eating – Paleo Diet: What is it and Why is it so Popular?, online at <https://www.mayoclinic.org/healthy-lifestyle/nutrition-and-healthy-eating/in-depth/paleo-diet/art-20111182>.
- ²⁰⁴ O’Neill (2016) “The Graham Cracker.” A gluten-free diet is essential for those with gluten intolerance and coeliac disease, but the – groundless – perception that a gluten is harmful to other individuals is now entrenched as a dietary fad.
- ²⁰⁵ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 28; Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 78.
- ²⁰⁶ Some of the symptoms alluded to in Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 113, are unmistakably of this type.
- ²⁰⁷ For the self-polluter, “Self-destruction becomes the common theme of his thoughts. Remorse and despair at times overwhelm his soul, and his misery is unspeakable. He would give worlds to be annihilated. His life is intolerable, and he often determines, and still fears to throw it off.” Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 114. In one of Sylvester’s case-histories, the former masturbator became “Filled with the phrenzy of despair” such that he “rushed into another room, caught his pistol, and blew out his brains,” Graham (1837) *A Lecture to Young Men*, 194-195.
- ²⁰⁸ This is not to suggest that Sylvester or his colleagues were aware of, or influenced by, Buddhism. They had Christian backgrounds, and they seem to have arrived at a Buddhist-sounding philosophy of life quite independently of eastern religious influence – a process known to biology as “convergent evolution.” There were of course many differences between the two philosophies.
- ²⁰⁹ For Sylvester, Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 182; for Buddhism, Reggie Kay (2009) “Looking Inward, Seeing Outward, *Tricycle* [Buddhist Review], online at <https://tricycle.org/magazine/looking-inward-seeing-outward/>.
- ²¹⁰ The Buddhist Centre: Buddhism for Today – Teachings – Four Noble Truths, online at <https://thebuddhistcentre.com/text/four-noble-truths>.
- ²¹¹ Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 72.
- ²¹² Walpola Sri Rahula (n.d.) “The Noble Eightfold Path – The Buddha’s Practical Instructions to Reach the End of Suffering,” *Tricycle* [Buddhist Review], online at <https://tricycle.org/magazine/noble-eightfold-path/>.

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- ²¹³ Watts (1951) *The Wisdom of Insecurity – A Message for an Age of Anxiety*. Watts’ philosophy is difficult to categorise, combining as it does aspects of Eastern religious traditions (Taoism, Hinduism, Buddhism, etc.) and modern scientific insights to form a pantheistic understanding of the universe. For simplicity, I have coined the term “neo-Buddhist philosophy” to reflect this new amalgam of Zennist thought in a Western-friendly package. My use of the term has nothing to do with the Indian socio-political movement by Dalits, initiated by B.R. Ambedkar in 1956, which is also sometimes called “neo-Buddhism.”
- ²¹⁴ A 2nd edition was published by Vintage Books in 2011. For the Bestseller ranking (obtained Aug 2019), see Amazon – *The Wisdom of Insecurity: A Message for an Age of Anxiety*, Paperback – February 8, 2011, online at <https://www.amazon.com/Wisdom-Insecurity-Message-Age-Anxiety/dp/0307741206>.
- ²¹⁵ Watts (1951) *The Wisdom of Insecurity*, 59.
- ²¹⁶ Watts (1951) *The Wisdom of Insecurity*, 64.
- ²¹⁷ Watts (1951) *The Wisdom of Insecurity*, 64-65.
- ²¹⁸ Sokolow (1983) *Eros and Modernization*, 182.
- ²¹⁹ Nissenbaum (1980) *Sex, Diet, and Debility*, 136-137. However, Emerson’s transcendentalist philosophy was influenced by Eastern religions, most obviously by Hinduism. Despite both men believing that “the only legitimate and effective source of human order was to be discovered within man himself” (p.136), they adopted very different views of the world. “The ideal ‘Grahamite man’ looked upon an environment which took the form not of an Emersonian landscape but of a Melvilleian ocean – a hostile void. The ordinary mode in which he confronted this environment, likewise, was not as a ‘transparent eyeball’ but as a beast in the jungle – a beast that combined the armour of a turtle with the sensitivity of a jack-rabbit” (p.137).
- ²²⁰ Watts (1951) *The Wisdom of Insecurity*, 86-87.
- ²²¹ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered.”
- ²²² [Daily Express] (1921) “The Mermaid of Bloomsbury: Doctors Puzzled by an African Mascot;” Dance (1976) *Animal Fakes & Frauds*, 56.
- ²²³ [Daily Express] (1921) “The Mermaid of Bloomsbury;” the *Daily Express* story was syndicated worldwide, e.g. [Straits Times] (1921) “Mermaid Bloomsbury.”
- ²²⁴ [West Australian] (1935) “A ‘Mermaid’ in London – Scientists Baffled.”
- ²²⁵ [West Australian] (1935) “A ‘Mermaid’ in London.”
- ²²⁶ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 100 & 108. Graham’s forenames were kindly supplied to me by Anita Hollinshead (pers. comm., 24 Jul, 2019).
- ²²⁷ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 108.
- ²²⁸ BBC News (2012) – Buxton Mermaid Origins Probed at University of Lincoln, 15 Feb, online at <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-17038668>.
- ²²⁹ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 108 & 111-112; Enlightenment! A Blog by Buxton Museum and Art Gallery – Monkey-fish Mermaids or Feejee Mermaids, post of 19 Apr, 2012, online at <https://enlightenmentderbyshire.wordpress.com/2012/04/19/monkey-fish-mermaids-or-feejee-mermaids/>.
- ²³⁰ [Times, Home Staff] (2012) “A Happy Ending to the Tale of the Ugly Mermaid.”
- ²³¹ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 109-110.
- ²³² Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 108-110; BBC News (2012) – Buxton Mermaid Origins Probed at University of Lincoln, 15 Feb, online at <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-17038668>.
- ²³³ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 109-110.
- ²³⁴ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 108-110; Claire Eamer (2016) “The Ugly Mermaid,” *Hakai Magazine* [Coastal Science and Societies], 28 Oct, online at <https://www.hakaimagazine.com/article-short-ugly-mermaid/>.
- ²³⁵ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 112; Eamer (2016) “The Ugly Mermaid.” For Mami Wata in coastal West Africa, see Rush (2013) *Vodun in Coastal Bénin – Unfinished, Open-ended, Global*, 64-65, 90-92, 97-106, 123-124 & 154, and Figs. 4.1, 4.11, 4.15-4.19, 4.22 & 4.24-4.28.
- ²³⁶ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 103; Eamer (2016) “The Ugly Mermaid.”
- ²³⁷ Viscardi *et al.* (2014) “Mermaids Uncovered,” 113.
- ²³⁸ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 28.
- ²³⁹ Cedric Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame;” [Scotsman] (2005) “The Extraordinary Life of the Gaucho Laird;” Isbell (1946) “Cunninghame Graham in Texas,” 502.

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- ²⁴⁰ Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame;” [Scotsman] (2005) “The Extraordinary Life of the Gaucho Laird.”
- ²⁴¹ Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame.”
- ²⁴² Wikimedia Commons – File:Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham00.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Robert_Bontine_Cunninghame_Graham00.jpg.
- ²⁴³ Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame;” [Scotsman] (2005) “The Extraordinary Life of the Gaucho Laird.”
- ²⁴⁴ Isbell (1946) “Cunninghame Graham in Texas,” 504.
- ²⁴⁵ Isbell (1946) “Cunninghame Graham in Texas,” 504.
- ²⁴⁶ Isbell (1946) “Cunninghame Graham in Texas,” 505.
- ²⁴⁷ Isbell (1946) “Cunninghame Graham in Texas,” 505.
- ²⁴⁸ Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame;” Nancy McClure (2014) “Center of the West Speaker Shares Connection Between Scotsman and 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre,” Buffalo Bill Centre of the West, 18 Jun, online at <https://centerofthewest.org/2014/06/18/dixon-scotsman-wounded-knee-massacre/>.
- ²⁴⁹ Cunninghame Graham (1921) *Mogreb-el-Aksa – A Journey in Morocco*, 58 & 83.
- ²⁵⁰ Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame;” Cunninghame Graham (1921) *Mogreb-el-Aksa*, 140 *et seq.*
- ²⁵¹ Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame.”
- ²⁵² Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame;” [Scotsman] (2005) “The Extraordinary Life of the Gaucho Laird.”
- ²⁵³ Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame;” [Scotsman] (2005) “The Extraordinary Life of the Gaucho Laird.”
- ²⁵⁴ Watts (2004) “Graham, Robert Bontine Cunninghame;” [Scotsman] (2005) “The Extraordinary Life of the Gaucho Laird.” Robert also inspired a character in George Bernard Shaw’s *Arms and the Man* [e.g., Shaw (2006) *Arms and the Man*], a work that provided the subtitle of the third advance instalment of the present book (Excerpt 3, Table 0.1).
- ²⁵⁵ Addressed in the previous section.
- ²⁵⁶ [Scotsman] (2005) “The Extraordinary Life of the Gaucho Laird.”
- ²⁵⁷ Stewart of Ardvorlich (1987) *The Grahams*, 28.
- ²⁵⁸ YouTube – Don Roberto: The Adventure Begins, Part 1, may be viewed online at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IVNWBng9Xcc>.
- ²⁵⁹ A trailer may be viewed at Vimeo – Caledonia TV – The Adventures of Don Roberto, online at <https://vimeo.com/127014428>.
- ²⁶⁰ The rate of diffusion of a gas is inversely proportional to the square root of its density.
- ²⁶¹ Stanley (2004) “Graham, Thomas.”
- ²⁶² Biography available at Wikipedia – User:LloydGraham, online at <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/User:LloydGraham>.

Chapter 15

Unless stated otherwise, URLs were accessed on 4 Dec, 2016.

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- ¹ Graeme (1903) *Or and Sable: A Book of the Graemes and Grahams*, 412.
- ² Gaelic languages use the same word for “hand” and “arm.”
- ³ Silver and black – a silver shield bearing a black cross Ancrée or Cercelée; Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 324 fn.78; Jean-Claude Colrat – Les Compagnons d’Armes de Jeanne d’Arc – Nicolas de Giresme & FAQ, online at <http://jean-claude.colrat.pagesperso-orange.fr/2giresme.htm>, <http://jean-claude.colrat.pagesperso-orange.fr/1giresme.htm> and Web#030; also France Blasons – Armes Argent et Sable, online at <http://franceblasons.free.fr/sablargo.htm>. The main coat of arms was borne by the head of the family, i.e., the grantee and (in due course) his heir, while the arms of cadet houses descended from younger sons had to be “differenced” from the original to distinguish them in some way. This was often achieved by changing a detail such as one of the colours. Charles de Giresme, chamberlain to Charles VI and contemporary with Nicolas, also used silver in place of gold; France Blasons – Armes Argent et Sable, online at <http://franceblasons.free.fr/sablargo.htm>.
- ⁴ “Louis de” is a conveniently close phonetic match for Lloyd. The original Louis de Giresme (d.1505) was, like Nicolas de Giresme, a knight of the Priory of France; he was in charge of the Commanderie Saint-Marc d’Orléans. See Roger (2012) “Service de Dieu, Service du Prince,” 338.
- ⁵ Flickr – Philippe Rouzet – Geresme, online at <https://www.flickr.com/photos/37149125@N04/6860559262/in/photostream/>.
- ⁶ The Old Irish word *nūadat* means “hand, wrist or arm,” but as *núadat* it also means “hero, champion, king; of kings of Ireland.” An alternation between these two categories recurs in the archaic semantic fields of Indo-European roots. Pyysalo (2015) “Ten New Indo-European Etymologies for the Celtic Languages,” 72-73.
- ⁷ This Irish tradition has Indo-Iranian parallels and is likely to be a survival of an archaic Proto-Indo-European custom. Bremmer (1980) “Medon, the Case of the Bodily Blemished King.”
- ⁸ Wikimedia Commons – File:Sword of Nuada.png, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Sword_of_Nuada.png.
- ⁹ Wikimedia Commons – File:Eiserne Hand Glasnegativ 6 cropped.jpg, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eiserne_Hand_Glasnegativ_6_cropped.jpg.
- ¹⁰ Von Mechel (1815) *Die Eiserne Hand des Tapfern Deutschen Ritters Götz von Berlichingen*; von Berlichingen-Rossach (1861) *Geschichte des Ritters Götz von Berlichingen mit der Eisernen Hand und seiner Familie*, 478. Wikimedia Commons, File:Berlichingen Eiserne Hand 1.jpg, Public Domain image, online at https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Berlichingen_Eiserne_Hand_1.jpg.
- ¹¹ Goethe (1889), *Götz von Berlichingen mit der Eisernen Hand*, 109 (redacted form with three dashes). Götz attributes a similar phrase to himself in his autobiography.
- ¹² Lockhart (1861) *The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott, Bart.*, vol. 12, 444-564.
- ¹³ Christian Feyerabend (2014) *Knights*, pt. 3 – *The Last of Their Kind*, television documentary, ZDF Enterprises & Gruppe 5 Filmproduktion, Cologne. This device (which replaced Götz’s original and much simpler prosthesis) served in 1915 as the prototype for the Sauerbruch hand, a prosthesis for German soldiers maimed in World War I, and thereby influenced the development of all modern artificial hands.
- ¹⁴ Ms. 354 (MM 354), Médiathèque Louis Aragon, Le Mans; it forms part of the Lancelot-Grail cycle. The de Giresme arms are the first of three bearings presented on the front flysheet, which dates to the late 15th / early 16th century. These bearings are for Mme. de Géresme, presumed wife of Jehan du Roux, lord of Sigy and Tachy, near Provins in Seine-et-Marne, who possessed the manuscript at the time. Hucher (1875) *Le Saint Graal*, vol. 1, 18-19 & 514; Stone & Sochats (2010) “Towards a Comparative Approach to Manuscript Study on the Web: The Case of the Lancelot-Grail Romance,” 39.
- ¹⁵ A term whose relevance to me has been considerably enhanced by the writing of this book.

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Set phrases are typically taken at face value, e.g. British Navy rather than Navy, British.

The early generations of historical Grahams are listed first under de Grame (for William, the first historical Graham), then under de Graham (for the next six generations of both the elder and the younger lines), and thereafter listed simply under Graham or, for Inchbrakie, Graeme.

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